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A BRONZE-AGE CEMETERY AT DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA

DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA or the 'hill with the red soil' lies in the Wadi Rubin region, c. 13 km. due south of Jaffa as the crow flies and about 700 m. north-east of the shrine of en-Nabi Rubin (see location plan, Fig. 1). To south-south-east, in the sand dunes beyond the river, may be seen the top of the impressive broad-shouldered mound of Tell es-Sultan covered with blown sand, a Bronze-Age site. To north-west amongst the sand dunes, in the direction of the sea, is silhouetted the prominent top of Tell Ghazza—a Middle Iron, probably Phoenician, site. Dhahrat el Humraiya is a small inconspicuous hill rising from the north bank of the Rubin river. It is cut across by a track running east and west, leading to en-Nabi Rubin and the sea-shore. Near the south edge of the track a recently opened quarry revealed a substratum of hard gravel rock, *kurkar*, cropping up to about 1 m. from the surface, and in the exposed section of the covering layer of soil human bones indicated the existence of burials on this side of the track. The higher ground on the north side of the track, now planted with orange-trees, appears to have a thicker covering layer of alluvial soil. Here ancient burials were discovered by the tenant of the land in course of uprooting some of his orange-trees. Casual digging to north and north-west of this cleared area disclosed other scattered burials indicating that the necropolis extended in those directions (Pl. XXIX, 1).

These discoveries implied that the centre of the burial-ground lay on the flat top of the hill, and it was decided to excavate a portion of it before extension of cultivation should disturb it any further.

The excavation lasted from 24 April to 2 June 1942 with short intervals. The area was, at the outset, laid out in a grid comprising thirty 5-m. squares, though not all the ground so covered was actually excavated¹ (see plan, Fig. 2).² The disposition of the burials is

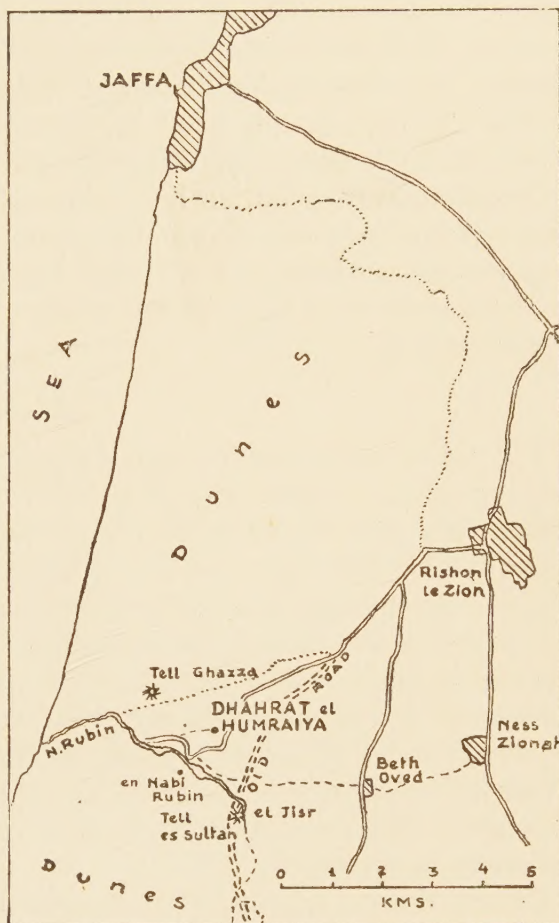


FIG. 1. Humraiya necropolis

¹ Squares a/1-6 (except for grave 61), which included the living quarters of the tenant, as well as squares b/1 (except for grave 62), b/2, c/1 and 2, d/1, and e/1, situated at the top of the slope of the hill on the north side, were left unexcavated. Squares d/2, b/3, and c/3 contained no burials. Coinciding with the grid line between squares c/2 and c/3 there was a dry built foundation of roughly built sandstone blocks, possibly part of a tomb chamber, which, lying close to the surface, may have been despoiled at an early date.

² The plan, Fig. 2, and pottery drawings (Figs. 3-44) are the work of Mrs. Th. Ettinger, Jerusalem.

shown on the plan. Near each grave the levels are shown in centimetres below a datum established on the flat top of the ground in the middle of the area excavated. It is clear, however, that the ground has been re-worked and re-levelled since the cemetery was established, as well as partly denuded through the action of rain.

Altogether 63 graves were cleared and examined, including one solitary animal burial (No. 9). All of the graves, with the exception of the cist (No. 57), appeared to be mere holes dug to varying depths in the ground. The average depth of burials is about 1.20–1.30 m. below the surface, although some graves reached a depth of 1.50 m. and one (No. 59) was 1.80 m. deep. Grave 1, on the other hand, was found level with the ground surface. At one point, between graves 2 and 15, the underlying hard gravel, or *kurkar*, bed, was reached at 1.90 m. below datum. The burials in most cases were accompanied by deposits; in many instances the bodies themselves had partly or completely disappeared, while the deposits only remained.

Occasionally two burials lay above each other, and in one case as many as three lay nearly superimposed. Generally speaking, those burials which lay nearer to the surface represented the later type of burial, but this is by no means an absolute rule; the criterion of level could not be used for relative dating except where two burials were directly superimposed.

Manner of Burial

The graves were dug through the top layer of alluvial soil and reached well into a substratum of clean loose sand. The sides of the holes were then trimmed to accommodate both body and deposits. The furniture of the graves consisted mainly of pottery, and considerable care appears to have been taken in the disposition of the various types of vessels. One or two jars without handles, or one such jar and one amphora, formed part of the furnishing of each grave as a rule; they were placed at the corners near the head or feet of the body. These jars usually contained one or two dippers. Frequently a group of bowls and dishes was placed near the feet, and occasionally near the head or thigh as well. A number of small juglets, mostly of the button-base type, of a well-levigated ware and covered with a lustrous deep red slip, was usually placed near the mouth or hands of the deceased. In some graves the body seems to have been interred with a small amphora in between its hands.

During the excavation, the position of each grave was invariably revealed by a patch of a sticky dark-grey earth, quite different in appearance from the surrounding ground. This deposit must have been introduced into the grave from outside, perhaps obtained from the marshy ground in the neighbourhood. The patches seem not to have exceeded 40 cm. in thickness, 40 cm. in width, and 1 m. in length. They were found clear of the contents of the graves and as a rule above the level of the body. This seems to suggest that they were placed there after the body had been partly covered up. In one case only (No. 22) was there a deposit of pottery (with which there were no traces of a body) actually embedded in such grey earth. The practice of covering the burial with a patch of grey earth appears to have persisted for the whole time during which the site was used as a cemetery.

The relative proximity and the disposition of some of the burials suggested family graves. In grave 11 the female burial, lying on the left side of the male, seems to have been a secondary interment. In such secondary burials a jar or amphora, but generally few other objects, seem to have been added to the original deposit. On the other hand, single female burials contained by far the finest deposits.¹

In the earliest burials it appears to have been customary to inter the pet animal of the deceased in the same grave.² In grave 11 the animal was buried on the right side of the male near the head. In burials Nos. 44, 49 the animal was buried at the feet of the deceased. This seems to have been the commonest practice. In every one of these cases a bronze knife was found placed beside the animal's skeleton and we may infer that the animal was slaughtered on the grave. No. 9 represents a solitary animal grave, the deposit consisting of a single jar.

The dead appear to have been buried in their clothes, as is shown by the toggle-pin in grave 39, found in position near the right shoulder. Similarly, in grave 15 a toggle-pin was found sticking under the chin near the left shoulder. The manner in which the hair was tied is illustrated by a silver band round the head found *in situ* in grave No. 44 (Pl. XXXI, 1).

In earlier graves the bodies were sometimes contracted or partly contracted, and sometimes nearly extended. In the later graves, on the other hand, viz. graves 8, 27, 28, 57, the extended position is exclusively used.³

The Dating of the Graves

Of the fifty-six graves containing pottery deposits (see Catalogue of Graves, pp. 79 ff.), a certain number contain purely Middle Bronze II types (Class A),⁴ the majority have Middle Bronze II types with the addition of painted jugs of Cypriote origin (Class B).⁵ A third group consists of graves with pottery exclusively of the Late Bronze Age (Class C).⁶

Classified by posture the burials fall into two main classes: (1) those in which the heads are to the east, while the bodies are partially, though sometimes only slightly, contracted, and (2) those in which the bodies lie at full length with head to the west. Of these two classes the former is, generally speaking, associated with Middle Bronze pottery types, the latter invariably with Late Bronze. Thus a classification of burials by posture results in a grouping corresponding to that based on the associated pottery types, as will be seen by comparing the Grave Catalogue with the plan (Fig. 2).

It seems therefore that in the earlier phase represented by Class A and B, the head of the body was normally placed to the east, the body itself partially flexed; while later on the position was reversed and the body laid out straight.

¹ In family graves where the bodies were lying side by side, as also in single graves, the sex is to be inferred from the accompanying objects; thus the bronze dagger in grave 11 belongs to a male warrior, whereas the gold ornaments and toilet-requisites in graves 8, 44, 49, 57, &c., may be attributed to women.

² I have to thank Dr. G. Haas of the Hebrew University for having kindly examined some of the animal bones. He identified them as those of the goat (*Capra domestica*). ³ Cf. Guy and Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs*, p. 138.

⁴ Notably graves 5, 11, 21, 29, 49, 59, 63, and possibly a few more, the deposits, however, being in some cases deficient.

⁵ Graves 2 and 3, 12, 13, 18, 19, 30, 34, 37, 44, 45, 50, 55, 62.

⁶ Graves 8, 27, 28, 57.

The Pottery

Characteristic shapes are a one-handled jar (Fig. 35),¹ a middle-sized amphora (Fig. 34), a small-sized amphora averaging 30 cm. in height, mentioned in connexion with burial customs,² and lastly, a jug of elongated shape, with short neck, and handle from rim to shoulder (Fig. 16).³

Amongst the carinated bowls those with a lustrous deep-red slip are fairly common, sometimes with surface combing. Of peculiar shape is a bowl with moulded sides, ending in two pairs of 'hook' handles⁴ (Fig. 31, and Pl. XXXII, 15). A bowl from grave 21 decorated with red cross-bars (Fig. 22) occurs elsewhere in Middle Bronze strata.⁵ The jug of Fig. 37 has a frieze on the shoulder filled in with diagonally crossed bars in black paint (Pl. XXXII, 1).

Outstanding types in this pottery series are jugs and juglets of reddish or greenish clay, with painting applied over a creamy slip (e.g. Figs. 13-15, and Pl. XXXII, 3-6, 8-9, 19-21). The body is spherical, somewhat flattened at the bottom, and occasionally slightly tapering upwards towards the neck. The decoration consists of vertical bands of parallel lines and zigzag bars in red or brown, which begin at the base of the neck and cross at the bottom.⁶ The jug (Pl. XXXII, 4), slightly squattish in form, with broad neck and pinched rim, is painted in a greenish-grey colour. The pattern of crossing oblique bands of parallel lines is represented but once (Fig. 14). This pattern is known from Tell 'Ajjul,⁷ Megiddo,⁸ Gezer,⁹ and Milia in Cyprus.¹⁰ The nearest examples to our types, both as regards form and decoration, come from Ras Shamra;¹¹ their origin is probably Cyprus ('White Painted IV Ware').

The relative abundance of the button-base type of juglet (generally in a buff or black ware with lustrous surface) seems to be a peculiarity of the graves in class B. The smaller examples were often found sticking together in groups of six or more. They presumably contained women's toilet requisites. One juglet of this type is decorated with concentric circles in red (Fig. 7). With the toilet bottles may be mentioned a tiny vase with fluted body (Fig. 20) and a juglet on ring base with red lustrous slip and traces of red painted horizontal lines on the body (Fig. 6).

The rather limited number of recorded graves in class C should not be taken as indicating

¹ Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Cave 28 II, Pl. XXXIII, 1; Duncan, *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery*, 38.

² Jericho; Garstang, *Annals*, Vol. XX, Pl. X, 526.

³ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXIV; Duncan, *Corpus*, 37 (from Gezer and 'Ein Shams).

⁴ Cf. a somewhat differing form of handle from Beisan (Duncan, *Corpus*, Z1 and Za).

⁵ Albright, *Tell Beit Mirsim I A*, *The Bronze Age Pottery of the fourth Campaign*, p. 71, para. 20, Pl. 5, 5 (G-H); Jericho, Tomb 4, Garstang, *Annals*, Vol. XX, Pl. 10, 4; Ras el 'Ein, *QDAP*, Vol. VI, p. 107 (2 B); cf. also Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXVI, 1.

⁶ Shipton, *Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata VI-XX*, p. 23, § 79 and charts: Stratum XI, No. 35 a and Stratum XII, No. 8.

⁷ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXIX, type 67 A 6'.

⁸ Guy and Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs*, Pl. 41, 27; Shipton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6, 19 from stratum XI-Middle Bronze II.

⁹ Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. LXII, 51.

¹⁰ Cf. Westholm, 'Some Late Cypriote Tombs at Milia', *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, Pl. V, 5.

¹¹ Schaeffer, 'Les Fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra', *Syria*, Vol. XIII, 1932, Pl. XII, 1 and 2; *Syria*, Vol. XIV, 1933, p. 110, Fig. 10, No. 9.



1. View of Site (Tell es Sultan in distance to right)
2. Grave 4
3. Grave 8
4. Grave 9
5. Grave 11

DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA CEMETERY

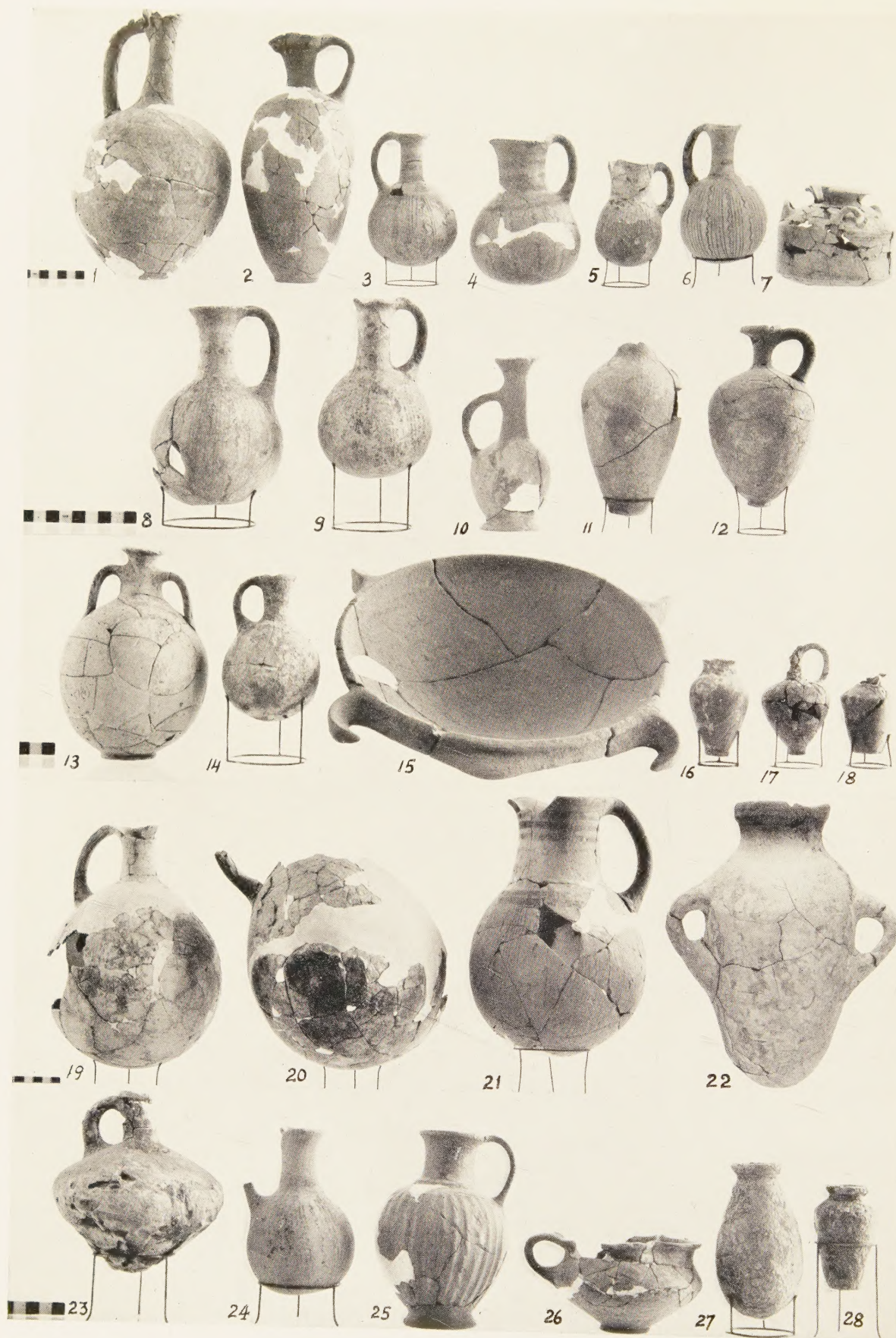


1. Grave 11 (detail) 3. Graves 25, 26, and 33 5. Grave 40
2. Grave 13 4. Grave 39 6. Grave 41

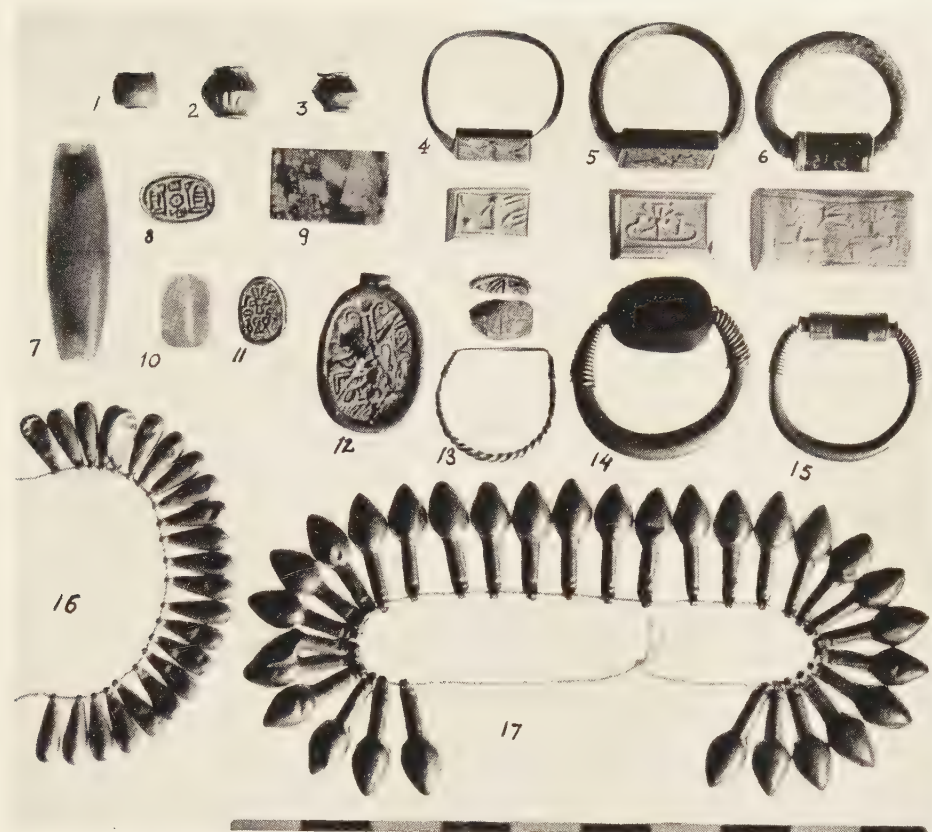
DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA CEMETERY



1. Grave 44
2. Graves 51 and 52
3. Grave 57
4. Grave 53
DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA CEMETERY



Pottery, Alabaster (Nos. 27-8), Faience (No. 16)
DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA CEMETERY



A



B

A HEBREW SEAL (2 : 1)
(pp. 90-1)



OF CEMETERY

BRONZE-AGE CEMETERY, DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA

a falling off in the number of burials. Both from the circumstance that later graves were generally situated closer to the surface and therefore more exposed to destruction, as well as from casual discoveries made outside the cleared area, it appears that burials in classes B and C were originally equally well represented.

In the pottery series of class C the appearance of the 'bilbil' juglet marks an evident departure from preceding types. In grave 8 both the 'bilbil' and button-base juglet appear as yet together. The plain jars of class C are distinguished from those of class B by the roundish or button-like bases and a relative squareness of the shoulder. Notably absent from this series is the Cypriote 'milk' bowl and any base-ring ware other than the bilbil. No. 57 was the only grave which contained pottery of Mycenaean type (Late Helladic III), including an imported pyxis with straight sides (Fig. 32 and Pl. XXXII, 7), which may be dated to the early fourteenth century B.C.

CATALOGUE OF GRAVES (see Plan, Fig. 2)

Grave 1 (Square d/5). On surface. Body E.-W., head to W. Three groups of crushed pottery SE., NE., and SW. of the remains, mostly lying at a lower level, perhaps belonging to some other grave.

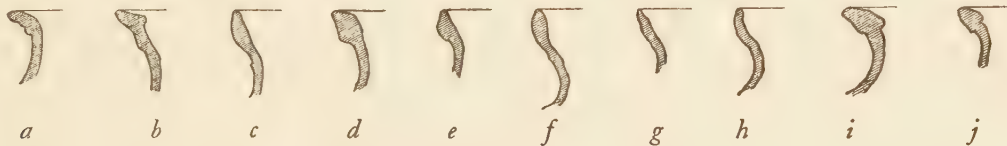
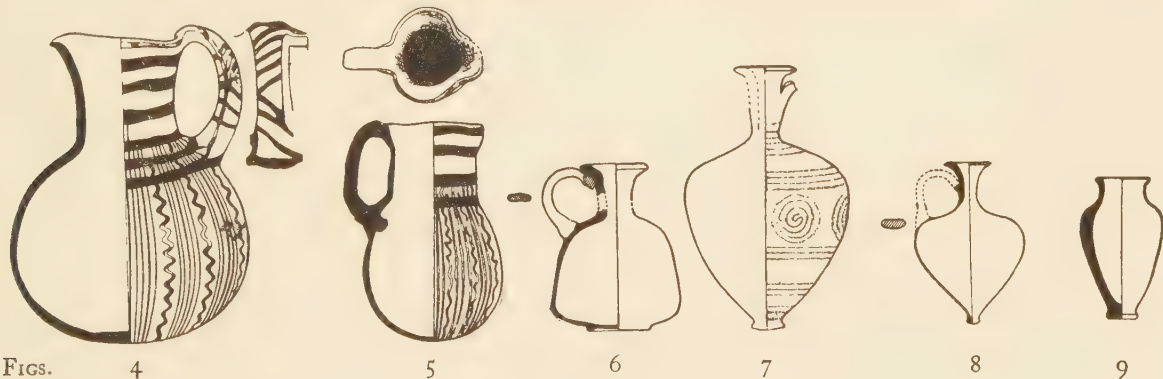


FIG. 3. Jar rim types 1 : 4

Objects: Fragmentary amphoras, dipper juglets (as Fig. 40), bowls on ring bases (as Figs. 17-19 and 25), carinated bowls and 'button-base' juglets, and a fragmentary painted juglet of soft greenish clay (as Fig. 15).

Grave 2 (Sq. d/5). Probably double grave with No. 3. The grave was situated across the W. edge of the excavated area and had in greater part been cleared by the tenant of the land. It appears to have contained the largest number of objects of any Humraiya grave.



FIGS.

4

5

6

7

8

9

Grave 2 (1 : 4)

Objects: Seven amphoras (as Fig. 30, rims mainly of types *a* and *f*, cf. Fig. 3), dippers, bowls, with: (47. 1)¹ Juglet, well-levigated yellow ware, cream slip, painted in dark grey (Fig. 4 and Pl. XXXII, 4).

¹ Numbers in brackets are Palestine Archaeological Museum numbers.

(47. 2) Juglet, greenish ware with slip, grey to black pattern as preceding but worn (Fig. 5 and Pl. XXXII, 5).

Fragments of two juglets, as preceding.

(47. 3) Juglet, well-levigated brownish ware, traces of slip and of horizontal bands painted in red (Fig. 6).

(47. 4) Juglet with button-base, well-levigated light-brown ware, red painted horizontal bands and concentric circles (Fig. 7).

Juglet with button-base, reddish-brown ware, yellowish core (Fig. 8).

(47. 5) Vase of green glazed faience (Fig. 9 and Pl. XXXII, 16).

(47. 6, 7) Two alabaster vases (Pl. XXXII, 27, 28), one with lid.

44. 297) Finger-ring, silver, ends inserted in gold-capped cylinder seal of green haematite (Pl. XXXIII, 6).

(44. 298) Bead, carnelian, bi-conical (Pl. XXXIII, 7).

(47. 8) Fragments of an ostrich egg-shell.

Grave 3. See grave No. 2.

Grave 4 (Sq. e/2; Pl. XXIX, 2). Contracted burial.

Objects: Pottery mostly crushed: three amphoras (as Fig. 30, rim types *b*, *g*, Fig. 3), one or two jars (as Fig. 26), three bowls (as Fig. 25), dippers, and a button-base juglet with deep-red slip, mostly decayed.

Grave 5 (Sq. e/2). A group of scattered pottery only. Fragmentary amphoras and jars, carinated bowls on ring bases, fragment of a bowl with projecting skew handle (47. 9 *b*), button-base juglets with red slip, also:

(47. 9*a*) Bowl, brownish ware, white grits, fired red (Fig. 10).

Grave 6 (Sq. e/6). Upper part of body with skull.

Objects: Dipper juglet (as Fig. 40).

(47. 10) Bronze knife, 14.6 cm. long, broken at hilt end, found near body.

Grave 7 (Sq. e/4). No remains of body.

Objects: One fragmentary button-base juglet and jar fragments.

Grave 8 (Sq. e/4; Pl. XXIX, 3). Shoulder and skull missing, otherwise undisturbed. Body extended, head to W. On W. side lined with two stones against which rested two amphoras. Contents point to woman's grave.



FIG. 10, grave 5. (1 : 4)

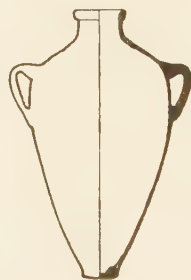


FIG. 11 (1 : 16)

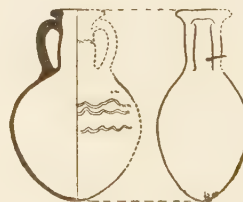


FIG. 12 (1 : 4)

Grave 8

Objects:

(47. 11) Amphora, brownish ware, grey core, white grits showing on surface (Fig. 11) and another of the same type (47. 12).

(47. 13) Cypriote bilbil jug; two button-base black juglets, button-base juglet with red lustrous slip (worn). Lentoid juglet of glass, incrustated white in zigzag lines (Fig. 12); for technique

BRONZE-AGE CEMETERY, DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA

cf. O. Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish II, The Fosse Temple*, Pl. XXIV, 83 f. Fragmentary pear-shaped glass juglet.

(47. 14) Base of a faience vase.

(47. 15) Ivory kohl tube.

(44. 303) Thirty gold pendants in the form of lotus buds (Pl. XXXIII, 17).

(44. 299) Finger-ring, gold, thickest at middle, ends spirally coiled with gold wire, holding a haematite scarab (Pl. XXXIII, 14).

(44. 301) Finger-ring, gold, with soldered rectangular seal in solid gold; the design shows a sistrum within a boat (Pl. XXXIII, 5).

(44. 300) Finger-ring, gold, thinnest at middle and broadening at ends, soldered to a rectangular seal of gold; engraved with a seated human figure, grooves to right. The head is marked by a puncture and there is another puncture below the extended right arm (Pl. XXXIII, 4).

(44. 302) Finger-ring, gold, thinning out towards ends which are covered with spirally-coiled gold wire, and holding cylindrical carnelian bead inserted in gold caps (Pl. XXXIII, 15).

(44. 305) Bead, gold, bi-conical, with gadrooned surface (Pl. XXXIII, 2).

(44. 304) Bead, gold, bi-conical, with plain surface (Pl. XXXIII, 3).

(44. 307) Scarab, steatite, set in gold frame, design not clear (Pl. XXXIII, 12).

(44. 306) Bead, serpentine, rectangular in section (Pl. XXXIII, 9).

Two beads, one of brown paste, the other of white paste.

Grave 9 (Sq. d/3; Pl. XXIX, 4). Grave of goats.

Objects: Lower part of amphora, with slightly convex flattish base and remains of a jar.

Grave 10 (Sq. d/4). Extended burial, head to W. (missing). No deposits.

Grave 11 (Sq. d/4, Pls. XXIX, 5; XXX, 1). Double grave including animal burial. Bodies slightly contracted. Skull of male with wide crack at the back.

Objects: Two amphoras (broken), a fragmentary jar, dippers, button-base juglets with red and black lustrous slip, bowls on ring bases and carinated bowls (as Figs. 17–19, 41, 42).

(47. 16). Bronze dagger, mid-ribbed, with three rivets (Pl. XXXIII, 26), found together with alabaster pommel, *in situ* on body.

Bronze knife (as Pl. XXXIII, 21), found near animal's remains.

Grave 12 (Sq. d/5). Disturbed human remains with animal burial.

Objects: Fragmentary amphora (rim as *b*, Fig. 3), dipper, two carinated fragmentary bowls with red slip.

(47. 17) Jug, greenish ware, cream slip; painted vertical bands on body, horizontal bars on neck and handle in brown, worn off (Fig. 13 and Pl. XXXII, 19).

(47. 18) Toggle-pin, bronze, broken (Pl. XXXIII, 22).



FIG. 13. (1 : 8)

Grave 12



FIG. 14 (1 : 4)

Grave 13

Grave 13 (Sq. e/5; Pl. XXX, 2). Skull and a few remains of the body only.

Objects: Much decayed or broken pottery, including two amphoras (one broken), a fragmentary jar with flattish base, dipper juglets, a jug (as Fig. 16), bowls on ring bases and concave disk bases (47. 19; as Figs. 17, 18), a number of small button-base juglets with black or red slip (e.g. 47. 20, Pl. XXXII, 12).

(47. 21) Juglet, painted with crossing bands of oblique parallel lines in brown (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXII, 14).

Grave 14 (Sq. d/5). Disturbed. Contained only a plain crystal scarab (44. 312, Pl. XXXIII, 10).

Grave 15 (Sq. e/5). Slightly contracted burial.

Objects: Two bowls (as Fig. 17), dipper juglet, carinated bowl (decayed), six button-base juglets with traces of a red slip (as Fig. 43).

(44. 313) Scarab (Pl. XXXIII, 8).

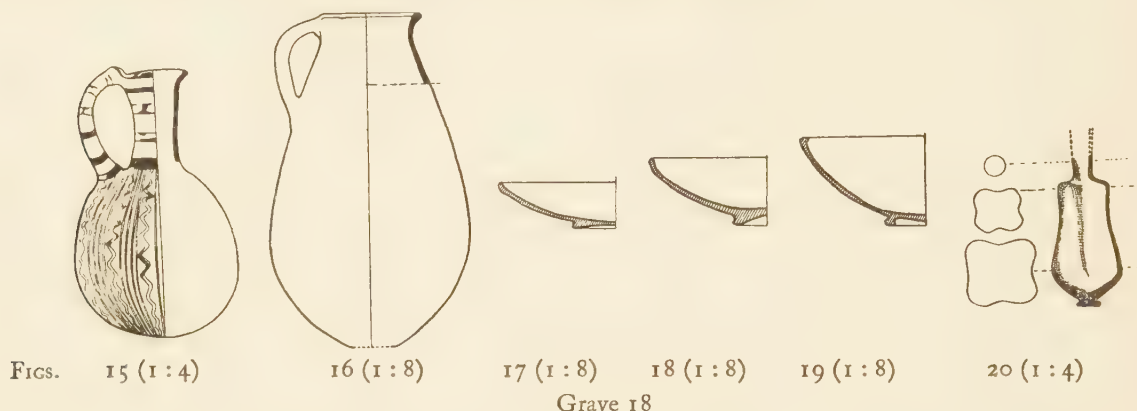
(47. 22) Toggle-pin, bronze (Pl. XXXIII, 23), found sticking to jaw.

Grave 16 (Sq. e/6). No deposits.

Grave 17 (Sq. e/5). Skull only. No deposits.

Grave 18 (Sq. d/5). No remains of the body.

Objects: Three amphoras (fragmentary, rim types as *c*, *f*, *g*, Fig. 3); amphora (47. 23; as Fig. 34), with red painted bands on shoulder. Dipper juglets (decayed).



(47. 24) Juglet, yellowish-brown ware, creamy slip, pattern in brown (worn off) (Fig. 15 and Pl. XXXII, 9).

(47. 25) Juglet with button-base, grey ware, brown slip (Pl. XXXII, 17), and others with red or black slip.

(47. 26) Jug, drab ware, fired to a reddish-brown hue (Fig. 16).

(47. 27) Bowl, light-brown ware, drab core (Fig. 17).

(47. 28) Bowl, similar ware (Fig. 18).

(47. 29) Bowl, similar (Fig. 19).

(47. 30) Juglet, faience, pinched-in body (Fig. 20).

Carinated bowls (as Figs. 41, 42).

Grave 19 (Sq. e/5). Contracted burial. Body slightly depressed, lower part missing.

Objects: Medium-sized amphora with small flattish base, rim missing; fragmentary jar; fragmentary decayed bowls (e.g. 47. 31); and button-base juglet.

Grave 20 (Sq. e/5). Situated nearly below grave 19. Right leg flexed. Two amphoras (rim types *c* and *f*, Fig. 3), found near the feet.

Grave 21 (Sq. c-d/3-4). Disturbed.

Objects: Amphora, fragmentary (rim type *f*, Fig. 3), amphora or jar (rim type *g*, Fig. 3), two button-base juglets (decayed). Jar, reddish-brown ware, deep-red slip (decayed) (Fig. 21).¹

¹ For a somewhat similar form cf. *QDAP*, Vol. V, Pl. LXVII.

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(47. 32) Bowl, pale brown, grey core; moulded rim (cf. section in Fig. 22); red cross painted on interior, ends of painted bars corresponding to small square projections on rim.

(47. 33) Dagger, bronze.

Grave 22 (Sq. e/5). All skeletal remains had disappeared. Crushed pottery embedded in a hard grey earth deposit included an amphora, a jug, a button-base juglet, and the remains of a juglet, possibly of the button-base type.

Grave 23 (Sq. e-d/6). Contracted burial. No deposit.

Grave 24 (Sq. e/6). Few remains of body, crushed and decayed pottery.

Grave 25 (Sq. e-d/6; Pl. XXX, 3). Contracted burial. At W. end of grave, remains of an animal burial.

Objects: Jar, broken, at feet of body, and small-sized amphora at left hand.

(47. 34) Knife, bronze, with three rivets, broken at end.

Grave 26 (Sq. e/6; Pl. XXX, 3). Contracted burial, skull missing.

Grave 27 (Sq. d/6). Extended body, head to W.

Objects:

(47. 35) Juglet, Cypriote base-ring ware, fired a reddish-brown (Pl. XXXII, 10).

(47. 36) Juglet, Cypriote base-ring ware of 'bilbil' type, grey ware, fired red on surface (Fig. 23).

(47. 37) Ivory toilet-box with lid (Pl. XXXIII, 18). Cf. *Lachish II, The Fosse Temple*, Pl. XX, 30; lid as *op. cit.*, Pl. XIX, 18.

(47. 38) Fragmentary ivory handle (?), with bronze loops inserted at ends (Pl. XXXIII, 20).

Two bronze beads.

Grave 28 (Sq. d/6). Extended body, head to W. Two 'bilbil' juglets as Pl. XXXII, 10, near head.

Grave 29 (Sq. c/4). A group of broken jars and amphoras (rim types *c*, *e*, *i*, Fig. 3) with small flattish bases, standing closely together in a row, E. to W., with smaller vessels and a three-footed basalt mortar (47. 39) with a small rubber (47. 40) stacked in between and alongside the jars. These were fairly close to the surface and may have been merely a stack of pottery. Some scattered human and animal bones at the E. side of this were generally at a higher level than the bases of the jars (part of a separate burial?). A bronze handle (47. 41), *c.* 4 cm. in diameter came from this grave.

Grave 30 (Sq. d/5). No burial remains. Broken one-handled jar, with flattish base and rim as *c*, Fig. 3; some decayed smaller vessels.

Grave 31 (Sq. d/5). Two fragmentary amphoras with flattish bases, rims missing; two bowls, (as Fig. 19) broken; a juglet with pleated handle (button-base type?); tiny carnelian bead (47. 42).

Grave 32 (Sq. d/5). A few disturbed human and animal remains; a broken amphora (rim type *g*, Fig. 3).

Grave 33 (Sq. e-d/6; Pl. XXX, 3). Upper part of skeleton with skull.

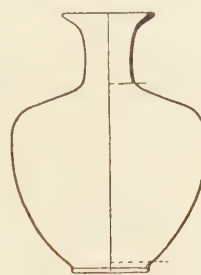


FIG. 21 (1 : 8)

Grave 21

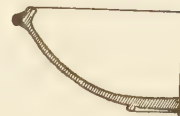


FIG. 22 (1 : 8)

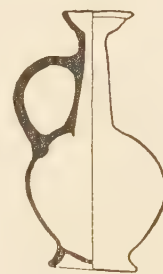


FIG. 23 (1 : 4)

Grave 27

Grave 34 (Sq. d/6). Almost directly below grave 23.

Objects: Amphora (as Fig. 30), fragmentary bowl in a yellowish-buff ware with in-turned rim (as Fig. 25), two decayed juglets of indeterminate shape.

(47. 43) Painted juglet, pale-brown ware, brown painting, worn off (Pl. XXXII, 24).

Grave 35 (Sq. d/4). Group of crushed pottery, mostly decayed. No other remains.

Grave 36 (Sq. d/6). Disturbed remains of body. Group of decayed pottery; fragmentary jar with flattish base, rim missing.

Grave 37 (Sq. d/6). No bones. Group of pottery situated below W. end of grave 28. Broken jar, amphora (as Fig. 30), small amphora (broken), fragmentary bowls (as Figs. 17-19).

(47. 44) Juglet, yellowish ware, creamy slip, painting in brown (Pl. XXXII, 6).

Grave 38 (Sq. d/5). Slightly contracted burial.

Objects: One-handled jar in a reddish-brown ware, rim and neck broken (47. 45); medium-sized amphora (rim type *f*, Fig. 3), dipper juglet (as Fig. 40), found inside amphora; broken dipper; decayed bowl.

(47. 46) Painted juglet, brownish ware, pattern in red: vertical bands alternating with groups of five lines crossing at bottom, in centre of base a blot of paint and two concentric bands, horizontal bars on neck and handle; two punctures at attachment of handle to rim (Pl. XXXII, 3).

(47. 47) Painted juglet, greenish ware, creamy slip, paint brown, worn off; pattern as preceding (Pl. XXXII, 8).

Grave 39 (Sq. d/6; Pl. XXX, 4). Directly above grave 44. Contracted burial.

Objects: Broken jar with flattish base, rim missing; broken amphora (rim type *g*, Fig. 3) with dipper; button-base juglet with black slip; bronze toggle-pin (47. 48); two globular bronze beads (47. 49); alabaster lid (47. 50).

Grave 40 (Sq. d/5; Pl. XXX, 5). Fragmentary scattered bones.

Objects: broken amphora with flattish base containing decayed dipper juglet and two fragmentary bowls (as Figs. 17-18).

Grave 41 (Sq. d/5; Pl. XXX, 6). Crushed skull.

Objects: Broken amphora (rim type *f*, Fig. 3), neck of jar or amphora (rim type *g*, Fig. 3), decayed juglet, found near skull. Group of decayed bowls to W. may possibly have belonged to this grave.

Grave 42 (Sq. d/5). Few bones (possibly one with grave No. 32).

Objects: Amphora (rim type *f*, Fig. 3), reddish-brown ware, dark-grey core, grits showing on surface.

Bowl of yellowish-buff ware, 25 cm. in diam., 9 cm. diam. of ring base (as Fig. 25).

Bowl of reddish-brown ware, two red-painted bands inside rim, 24 cm. diam. (as Fig. 18).

Bowl, reddish-brown ware, grey core, base and outer lower half wheel-combed (as Fig. 18).

(47. 51). Tiny vase of reddish-brown ware (Pl. XXXII, 18).

Grave 43 (Sq. c/5). No remains of body. Single jar (broken).

Grave 44 (Sq. d/6; Pl. XXXI, 1). Directly below grave 39, the foot of the skeleton in the latter grave actually resting on the mouth of a standing jar which formed part of the furniture of the lower grave (Pl. XXX, 4). This grave contained a contracted burial and the remains of an animal interred at the feet of the corpse. From a silver band, c. 10 mm. wide, found in position on the skull (47. 52), it may be inferred that this was a woman's grave.

Objects:

(47. 53) Amphora, brownish ware (Pl. XXXII, 22).

Jar (as Fig. 26) at the feet of the body.

Bowl of reddish-brown ware, 22 cm. diam. (as Fig. 17), broken.

Bowl, oval rim, 22 × 25 cm., in a buff ware, decayed (as Fig. 17).

Two decayed bowls inside each other.

Two groups of button-base juglets in buff or grey ware with lustrous red or black slip, found near head.

A decayed cup.

(47. 54) Juglet, button-base, buff ware, greenish slip (Pl. XXXII, 23).

Dipper juglet.

(47. 55) Painted jug, drab ware, fired brown, with traces of slip; bands of eight lines each, alternating with zigzags drawn vertically on body in red and crossing at bottom; neck and part of handle missing (Pl. XXXII, 20); dipper juglet inside.

(44. 309) Finger ring, gold, spirally coiled wire at ends; ends joined by double string of gold which held white paste scarab (decayed) (Pl. XXXIII, 13).

(47. 56) Finger-ring, silver, 18 mm., with tiny bezel for stone (missing).

(47. 57) Finger-ring, silver, 15 mm., silver wire at ends for holding scarab or seal (missing).

(47. 58) Knife, bronze, 16 cm. long, with three rivets, tip broken off (Pl. XXXIII, 21). Cf. *Gezer*, Vol. III, Pl. LX, 1.

(47. 59) Three globular amethyst beads, one paste bead, and one felspar bead.

Grave 45 (Sq. c/5). Remains of decayed skull.

Objects: One-handled jar, rim missing; bowl (as Fig. 18) of buff ware; decayed bowl; carinated bowl, 14 cm. diam. (as Fig. 41) of buff ware, fragmentary; inside it decayed plate, 27 cm. diam.; one small bowl, 9.5 cm. in diam. inside larger bowl, 22 cm. diam., and one jug, all in a decayed condition.

Bowl, reddish-brown ware (Fig. 24).



FIG. 24
(1 : 8)

Grave 45

Grave 46 (Sq. c/5). No bones. Crushed pottery deposit found in and above grey earth deposit.

Grave 47 (Sq. c/5). No bones.

Objects: Broken jar (as Fig. 26) containing button-base juglet; one-handled jar containing dipper; fragmentary jug (as Fig. 16); two bowls with slightly inturned rims, bases missing, exterior surfaces combed at lower half; decayed carinated bowl; fragment of trumpet-foot vase.

Bowl, light-brown core (Fig. 25).



FIG. 25
(1 : 8)

Grave 47

Grave 48 (Sq. c/5). Disturbed body. Pottery deposit mostly decayed; broken amphora (rim type *h*, Fig. 3) containing dipper.

Grave 49 (Sq. b-c/4). Remains of upper part of body and a few animal bones including the jaw. Position of animal interment as in tomb 44.

Objects: Jar, brownish ware, light-grey gritty core (Fig. 26).

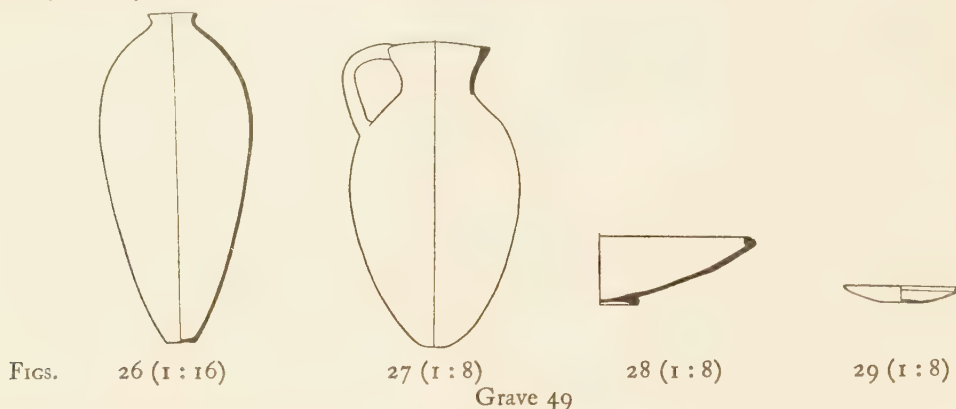
(47. 60) Jug with pinched lip, grey gritty ware, fired a brownish hue (Fig. 27).

Bowl, brownish ware (Fig. 28).

Large plate, broken; dipper (as Fig. 40); six small button-base juglets with red slip; carinated bowl (as Fig. 41).

(47. 61) Saucer, reddish-brown ware (Fig. 29).

- (47. 62) Bronze knife, 11.2 cm. long, with perforation for rivet, found with the animal remains.
 (47. 63) Ear-ring, silver, crescent shaped.
 (44. 308). Tiny steatite scarab in electrum frame (Pl. XXXIII, 11).



Grave 50 (Sq. c-d/6). No bones.

Objects: Broken jar (as Fig. 26), two bowls of reddish-brown ware, 29.5 cm. diam. and 25 cm. diam. (as Fig. 18); button-base juglet; dipper (as Fig. 40); jug, decayed, of a reddish-buff ware covered with a deep-red slip, similar in form to Fig. 16; button-base juglet.

(47. 64) Painted jug, reddish-brown ware, traces of creamy slip, decoration in red: vertical alternating bands of four lines drawn from base of neck to ring-base. Horizontal bars on neck and handle (Pl. XXXII, 2).

(47. 65) Painted jug, pale-brown body and slip, painting in red. Pattern as on No. 3, Pl. XXXII, broad neck, pinched lip (Pl. XXXII, 21).

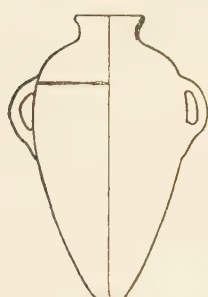


FIG. 30. (1:16)
Grave 52

Graves 51 and 52 (Sq. c/5; Pl. XXXI, 2). Two burials: a slender contracted skeleton of a woman (?) and another, less contracted, skeleton of a male (?). An amphora containing a broken dipper, was placed at foot of burial 51 and a toggle-pin (47. 66)¹ was found near shoulder. An amphora (brownish ware with grits, Fig. 30) and a carinated bowl (as Fig. 41) were found at the feet of burial 52.

Grave 53 (Sq. c/5; Pl. XXXI, 4). No bones. Group of pottery situated near grave 48 which may represent the rest of the deposit of that grave. It included a fragmentary jar (rim type *i*, Fig. 3) with combed surface of reddish-brown ware and a black juglet of the button-base type.

Grave 54 (Sq. c/6). Disturbed, perhaps originally one grave with 56. Objects: Fragmentary amphora, c. 50 cm. high, in a reddish-brown ware with groove at base of shoulder (rim type *f*, Fig. 3); jug (as Fig. 16).

Grave 55 (Sq. c/5). No bones.

Objects: Pottery group, badly broken, fairly close to surface: amphora of which the base and handles were recovered; number of broken bowls, one carinated; button-base juglets with lustrous red surface; three fragmentary painted juglets, as Pl. XXXII, 6 (47. 67).

(47. 68) Bowl, reddish-brown ware, traces of red slip on outer surface and base, partly moulded, with hook projections (Fig. 31 and Pl. XXXII, 15).

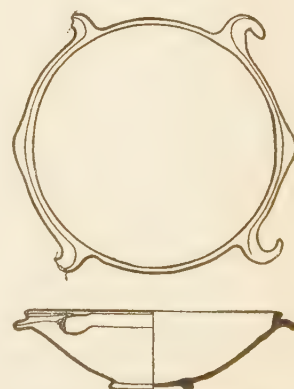


FIG. 31. (1:8) Grave 55

¹ Type 6c, according to the classification in *QDAP*, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff.

BRONZE-AGE CEMETERY, DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA

Grave 56. See grave 54.

Grave 57 (Sq. c/6; Pl. XXXI, 3). The only built grave in this necropolis. The short eastern wall was missing and there was no trace of any covering slabs, though the contents appeared to be undisturbed. The grave lay E.-W., slightly narrowing down towards the E. end; the heads were placed at the W. end. Three burials appear to have been cramped inside the cist (man, wife, and child?). The skulls were crushed and the bones generally decayed.

Objects:

(47. 69) Pyxis, Mycenaean, straight-sided, yellow clay with creamy slip, worn red horizontal bands (Fig. 32 and Pl. XXXII, 7).

(47. 70) Flask, cream ware with concentric circles in red, worn off (Fig. 33 and Pl. XXXII, 13). The flask and the pyxis, together with a juglet of 'bilbil' type, were placed at the W. end of the grave.



FIG. 32. (1:8)



FIG. 33. (1:8)

Grave 57

Jewellery distributed alongside the bodies.

(44. 311) Gold necklace consisting of twenty-three lozenge-shaped pendants (Pl. XXXIII, 16).

(44. 310) Two gold beads (Pl. XXXIII, 1).

(47. 71 and 72) Two bronze mirrors (cf. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, Vol. III, Pl. IX, 23).

(47. 73). Finger-ring with Wadjet eye, of discoloured faience (Pl. XXXIII, 19).

(47. 74). Two nail-heads of bone and small bronze fragments.

Grave 58 (Sq. b/5). A few scattered human remains close to surface. Pottery badly crushed, included three amphoras (as Fig. 30).

Grave 59 (Sq. c/6). A few scattered human remains at the deepest level recorded.

Objects: Amphora, neck and rim missing, estimated height 66 cm. (as Fig. 30); in it a dipper juglet (as Fig. 40); fragments of another amphora, rim missing; dipper, red slip, and button-base juglet placed near head; jug (as Fig. 16).

Grave 60 (Sq. b/4). Contracted burial.

Objects: Amphora (as Fig. 30) and three dippers (as Fig. 40) resting against it, all placed near head; fragmentary amphora, rim missing.

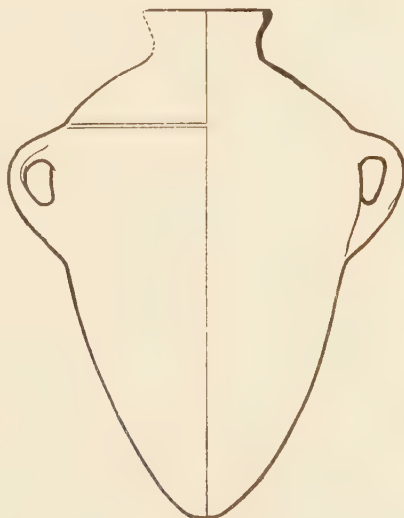


FIG. 34. (1:8) grave 61

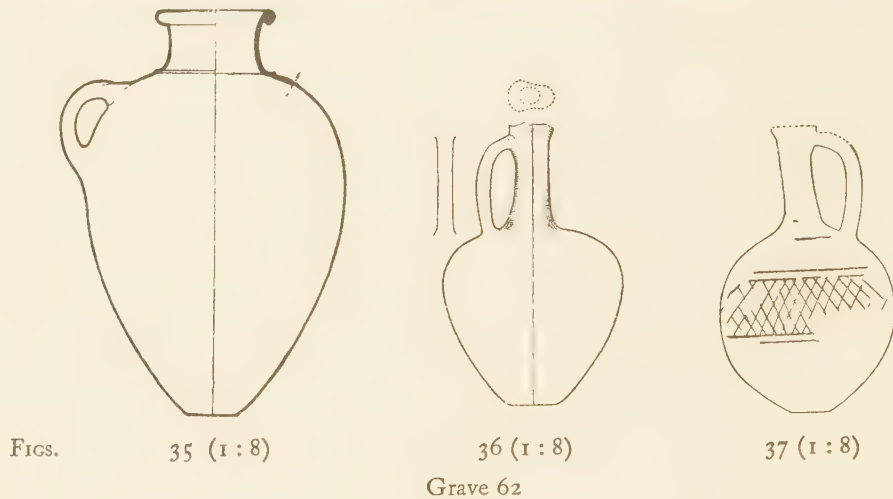
Grave 61 (Sq. a/1-2). Slightly contracted burial, partly disturbed.

Objects: Amphora, greyish gritty ware, groove at base of shoulder (47. 75, Fig. 34), placed at feet, between this burial and grave 62. Decayed bowl and three button-base juglets laid on right arm.

Grave 62 (Sq. a-b/1). Disturbed remains close to 61.

Objects:

(47. 76) Jar, one-handed, light-grey ware, collared neck, combed on shoulder (Fig. 35).



(47. 77) Painted jug, reddish-brown ware, greyish-black core, red slip; below shoulder, frieze with black lines crossing diagonally; traces of paint on neck and handle (Fig. 37 and Pl. XXXII, 1).

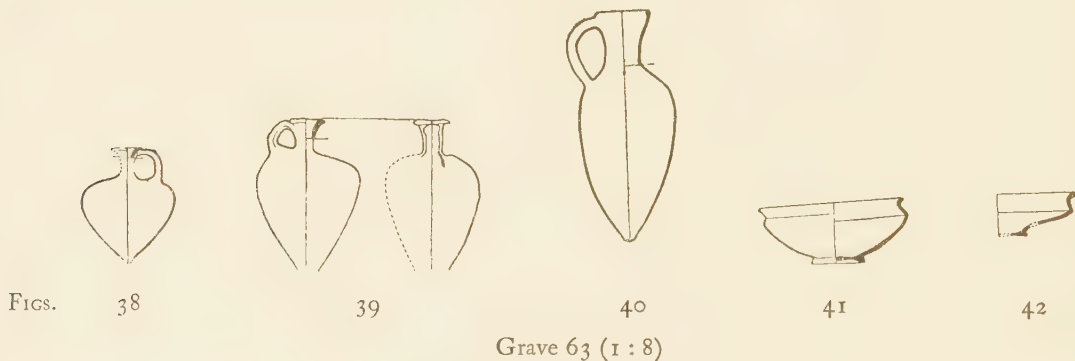
Painted jug, rim broken, similar to preceding (Fig. 36), and decayed juglet (as Pl. XXXII, 2).

Grave 63 (Sq. b/5). Contracted burial.

Objects: Two amphora fragments, fragments of a painted jug and a juglet.

Juglet, button-base type, greyish ware, deep-red slip, base missing (Fig. 38).

Juglet, button-base type, buff ware, base missing (Fig. 39).



(47. 78) Dipper juglet, brownish ware (Fig. 40).

Carinated bowl, disk base, brownish-drab ware (Fig. 41).

(47. 79) Carinated bowl, concave disk base, reddish-brown ware (Fig. 42).

(47. 80) Cup, with handle, reddish-brown ware, deep-red slip, ring base, trefoil mouth (Pl. XXXII, 26).

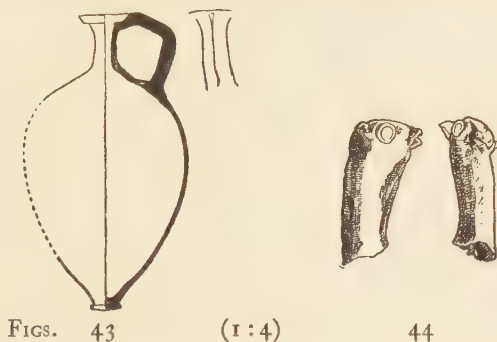
BRONZE-AGE CEMETERY, DHAHRAT EL HUMRAIYA

Objects from the surface, or of uncertain provenance

(47. 81) Juglet, fragmentary, reddish-brown ware, conical body, ring base (?) handle and neck missing (Pl. XXXII, 11).

(47. 82) Juglet, bucchero ware (Pl. XXXII, 25).

(47. 83) Juglet with button base, greyish ware, fired red, traces of deep-red slip (Fig. 43).



FIGS. 43 (1:4) 44

(47. 84) Painted jug, greenish-buff ware, creamy slip; painting in brown, consisting of broad upright bands alternating with wavy lines (Pl. XXXII, 24).

(47. 85) Pottery head of animal figurine, hollow, light brown, hard baked (Fig. 44).

(47. 86) Arrow-head, bronze, *c.* 12.3 cm., flat-ribbed on both facets, bent (Pl. XXXIII, 25).

J. ORY

Key to Pl. XXXII

1	.	.	Tomb 62	11	.	.	Uncertain	20	.	.	Tomb 44
2	.	.	" 50	12	.	.	Tomb 2	21	.	.	" 50
3	.	.	" 38	13	.	.	" 57	22	.	.	" 44
4	.	.	" 2	14	.	.	" 13	23	.	.	" 44
5	.	.	" 2	15	.	.	" 55	24	.	.	" 34
6	.	.	" 37	16	.	.	" 2	25	.	.	Uncertain
7	.	.	" 57	17	.	.	" 18	26	.	.	Tomb 63
8	.	.	" 38	18	.	.	" 42	27	.	.	" 2
9	.	.	" 18	19	.	.	" 12	28	.	.	" 2
10	.	.	" 27								

Key to Pl. XXXIII

1	.	.	Grave 57	10	.	.	Grave 14	19	.	.	Grave 57
2	.	.	" 8	11	.	.	" 49	20	.	.	" 27
3	.	.	" 8	12	.	.	" 8	21	.	.	" 44
4	.	.	" 8	13	.	.	" 44	22	.	.	" 12
5	.	.	" 8	14	.	.	" 8	23	.	.	" 15
6	.	.	" 2	15	.	.	" 8	24	.	.	Uncertain
7	.	.	" 2	16	.	.	" 57	25	.	.	"
8	.	.	" 15	17	.	.	" 8	26	.	.	Grave 11
9	.	.	" 8	18	.	.	" 27				

A HEBREW SEAL

THE seal here described is of unknown provenance and was acquired by the Palestine Archaeological Museum in 1926 (Inv. No. J. 894). It is a scaraboid with plain domed back, pierced lengthwise, and is made of brown limestone, probably of local origin (Pl. XXXIII, Figs. A–B).

Across the top is the name of the owner, in two lines; the letters in the first line are more deeply incised than those in the second. The clear ancient Hebrew characters read ליקמיהו (= belonging to Yqmyhw).¹ The name Yeqamyahu² is found in its post-exilic shortened form Yeqamyah in the First Book of Chronicles (ii. 41; iii. 18) and in its full form on a seal from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.³

The inscription seems to have been incised after the cutting of the seal, since no space was left for it and the letters had thus to be distributed in the area not occupied by the design. Such an arrangement of letters, though rare, seems to favour the view that the stone-cutters used sometimes to keep incised seals in stock and to add the name of the customer when required.

The scene shows a man with Egyptian coiffure, clad in a short pleated kilt; he is spearing a winged griffin with a spear held in one hand, while with the other he seems to hold the animal down. To avoid intersecting the body, the spear is represented as passing behind the figure,⁴ an unnatural rendering that is paralleled on some Greek coins⁵ and gems⁶ of the archaic period. The wings of the griffin are outspread, its head is bent upwards and slightly backwards. The attitude of the hind legs is tense, the forelegs are bent and suggest that the whole fore-part of the body has subsided beneath the crushing weight of the blow. All these details in the drawing of the animal figure display a mastery of expression that contrasts with the stiff and lifeless unconcern of the man in spearing his victim.

It may be noted that on the actual seal (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. A) the man is made to hold the spear in his *right* hand, so that on the impression (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. B) he appears left-handed. This shows that in cutting the figure the engraver failed to allow for the reversal of the image on the impression and engraved the seal, so to speak, wrongly. Such an error would not have been made by a Greek gem-cutter, as a perusal of any publication of Greek seals will prove: there the weapon or tool always appears correctly in the right hand on the impression.⁷ The same holds good for most Egyptian seals of fine work-

¹ Cf. S. Yeivin, in *BSPES*, Vol. IX (1942), p. 78, n. 4.

² For suggestions of forms differing in vocalization from the masoretic text cf. M. Noth, *Israelitische Personennamen*, p. 200, n. 3, and recently W. F. Albright, in *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume*, American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945, p. 68.

³ E. J. Pilcher, 'An Old Hebrew Signet from Jerusalem', in *PEFQSt.*, 1918, p. 93 f., and D. Diringer, *Iscrizioni*, p. 210, No. 53 and Pl. XX, 23.

⁴ K. Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pls. IV, 109; X, 239.

⁶ A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pls. VIII, 51; XVI, 13.

⁷ For an exceptional case from the archaic period cf. *ibid.*, Pl. VI, 58, where Heracles is shown swinging the club with his left hand. This attitude is so unusual that the author erroneously describes it as 'Keule in der Rechten'.

manship, although there are some exceptions on which the figure appears left-handed on the impression.¹ In Palestine the proportion of 'wrongly' cut seals is much larger and left-handed figures are numerous.²

Naturally the letters, if any, are always correctly engraved so as to be legible on the impression, and on such seals the contrast between the correctness of the inscription and the inexactness of the figure is the more evident.³ This may be regarded as an additional indication that on our seal, and in other similar cases, the inscription and the figure were engraved at different times and perhaps by different people.⁴

The scene of a hero slaying a dragon is a well-known motif in oriental mythology and iconography, beginning with the Babylonian legends of Marduk killing Tiamat, and ending with the representation of St. George and the Dragon. In Egyptian art the dragon-slaying hero usually appears as the god Seth spearing a serpent.⁵ The same motif is found in Palestine on a scarab from Tell Far'a.⁶

On the Yeqamyahu seal the details are Egyptian but the serpent has been replaced by a winged griffin of Syro-Phoenician type such as is found on Palestinian seals and on Phoenician ivories.⁷ It is also in the Phoenician domain that the nearest parallels to the motif on our seal may be found: viz. a man killing a winged griffin with a sword is shown on a mirror handle from Cyprus,⁸ on a plaque from Nimrud,⁹ and on metal bowls from Dali and Curium.¹⁰

Both the type of the griffin and the form of the letters on our seal point to a date in the eighth century B.C.

I. BEN-DOR

¹ e.g. W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Pl. XLIII, 154.

² A. Rowe, *Scarabs*, Nos. 94, 180, 271, 289, 290, 574, 578, 669, 670 (in this publication the scarabs are photographed from the originals).

³ Driinger, *Iscrizioni*, Pl. XIX, 2, 16; XXI, 4 a; A. Reifenberg, in *PEQ*, Oct. 1939, Pl. XXXIV, 4.

⁴ Contrast *PEQ*, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV, 5 where the right-handedness of the figure is in agreement with the inscription. In this case, however, the name is written in a previously allocated space in the exergue, and it may be assumed that both the figure and the inscription were engraved simultaneously.

⁵ Cf. the references listed by J. Leibovitch, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Vol. XLIV (1945), pp. 101-7.

⁶ Petrie, *Beth-Pelet I*, Pl. XII, No. 171.

⁷ Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. XII, p. 80.

⁸ A. S. Murray, *et al.*, *Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. II, No. 872 A.

⁹ F. Poulsen, in *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, Vol. XXVI (1911), p. 226, Fig. 10.

¹⁰ Perrot-Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus*, Vol. II, Figs. 270, 274, 276.

AN IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

THE discovery of this tomb was reported to the Department by the O.C. 'Amman District, on information received from the police post at Sahab.¹ The tomb is on the north-western edge of the village, which itself stands on a low tell representing the site of the Iron-Age town; there are many other cave tombs open and used as stores by the villagers, and a fairly careful examination of the site indicated that there was no occupation later than the Iron Age, about the sixth to seventh centuries B.C. No Hellenistic or Roman sherds were found, but neither were sherds earlier than Early Iron Age observed,² though a few trial trenches would be needed to give definite proof one way or the other. The modern village was not repopulated, as Albright states,³ by Beduin, but by some of Ibrahim Pasha's soldiery, and the inhabitants are known to-day as Masarwa, and acknowledge themselves to be such. The tomb which contained the anthropoid coffin found there in 1929⁴ was unfortunately rifled before the Department heard about it, and only a few sherds, probably belonging to the tomb, were recovered, but it must be earlier than the present tomb, which can be dated to the eighth to ninth century B.C. Many of the pottery forms are identical with those of the 'Amman tombs⁵ with only a few entirely new forms. The actual work of excavating and clearing the remains was carried out by Hasan 'Awad el Qutshan, who also subsequently undertook all the cleaning and repairing of the pottery; his services are given voluntarily and are invaluable, as we have no other trained field workers in Trans-Jordan.

Description of the Tomb (see plan, Fig. 1)

A large rock-cut cavern, approximately 7.50 m. square, was entered at the north-western corner from a flight of ten steps, all of which were constructed, and projected for some distance into the cave itself. The whole of the west and part of the east wall of the stairway was built, and was roofed with four large slabs of stone (see Pl. XXXIV, 3-4); the entrance proper was closed by a large upright stone, and was quite undisturbed until the present opening. Inside the chamber there was no attempt at dressing the rock surfaces, indeed it would not have been possible, as the rock here is composed of layers of crumbly tabular flint and soft limestone, with occasional harder layers of crystalline limestone, one of which formed the roof of the cavern. The eastern corner was largely built up to support the roof, and a most curious feature was a chimney-like construction in the middle of the south-west side which presumably reached up to the original land surface outside. I know at present of no parallel to this, and cannot imagine what its purpose can have been, unless the cave was originally used as a dwelling. At least it preserved for us some 135 pots more or less intact, as very fine dust had percolated through from it and covered half the chamber to a considerable depth. In the other half bones and pottery were lying uncovered on the rock floor, and the great number of curious village sightseers

¹ 'Amman District, 11 km. south-east of 'Amman (1 : 250,000 Map, Sq. 240/140).

² Albright, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXXVI, 1932, p. 296.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-306.

⁵ *QDAP*, Vol. XI, p. 67.

IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

(and fortune-hunters) trampled these to tiny fragments before I got there; they also scratched about in odd corners, but fortunately there was nothing but pottery to find, and I took over the work on the day after discovery. Along the south-west side was a

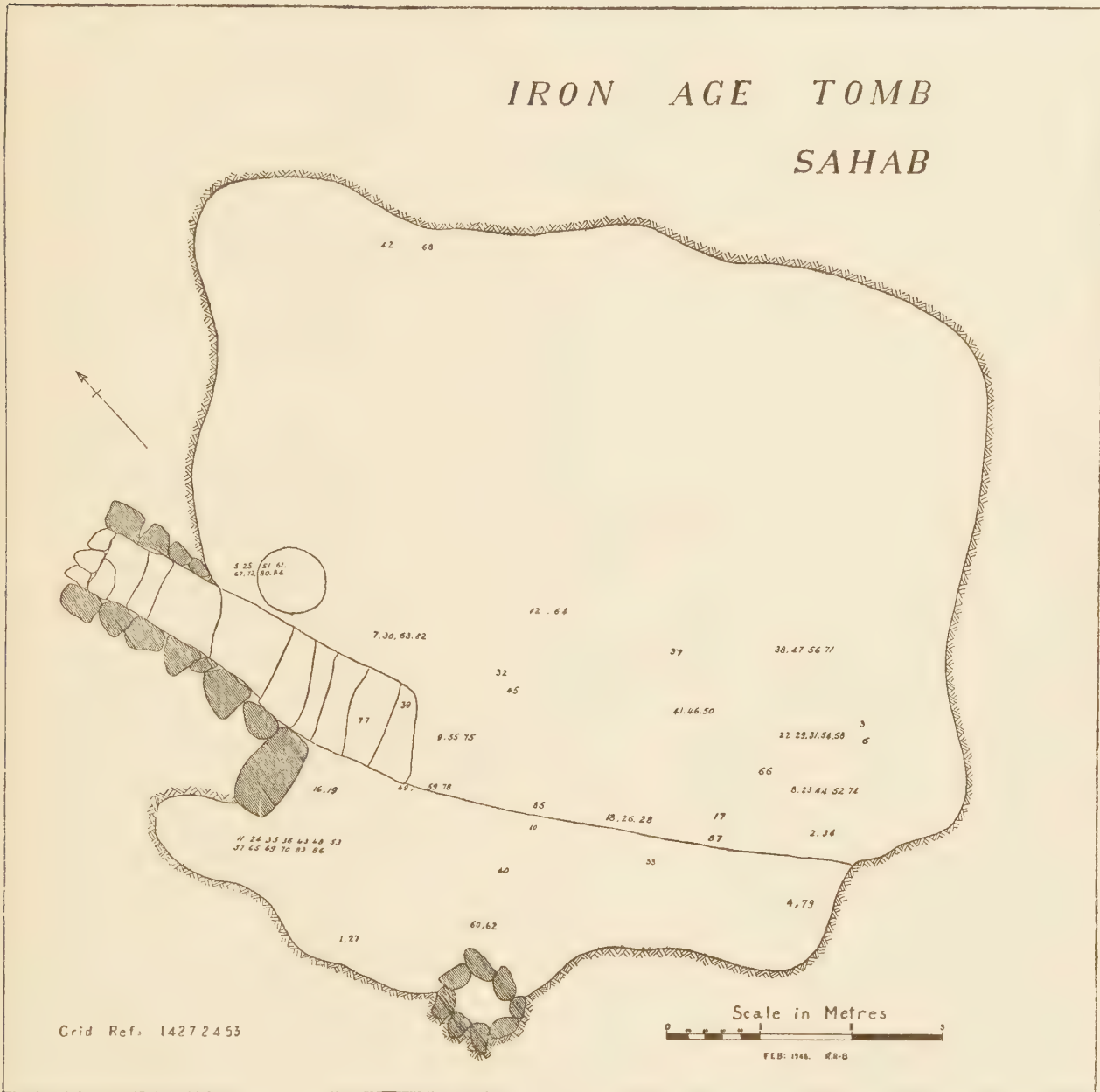


FIG. 1

rock bench some 30 cm. higher than the rest of the floor, but the strata sloped fairly steeply towards the centre of the room and then levelled out, with the result that many of the pots and skulls had rolled off the bench on to the floor.

At first glance one gets the impression that the tomb had been robbed anciently, but

certain facts rather refute this theory, the chief being that the entrance was properly closed and that there was no other means of ingress (the chimney was too narrow). In this connexion it is interesting to note the remarks of Miss Caton Thompson regarding the tombs excavated by her at Hureidha in the Hadhramaut;¹ these she dates to between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C., and our tomb probably dates to the eighth to seventh century. She concludes that one at least of the tombs was an ossuary, i.e. a place of secondary and not primary interment, the conditions of the tomb which led to such a conclusion being startlingly similar to the conditions of our tomb, viz. that the entrance was undisturbed, skeletal remains were fragmentary and incomplete, and many pots were likewise represented only by fragments. In the Hureidha tombs, moreover, the skulls were laid out in some sort of order, though this did not appear to be the case at Sahab. If then these tombs are indeed ossuaries, and the evidence in favour is strong, a new aspect of burial customs in the Iron Age appears for the first time, of which no hint is given in literature. It has hitherto always been assumed that when disturbed tombs have been found it has been the result of robbing, but in the light of Miss Caton Thompson's discoveries and now of the Sahab tomb, the matter must be reconsidered, and careful observation is needed on all tombs of the period (single graves, where such occur, are probably in a different category). Neither at Tell Far'a nor at Tell ed-Duweir, where many Middle and Late Iron Age tombs were excavated, were undisturbed tombs found, save for one at Tell ed-Duweir (unpublished), but this one seems to have been something special. Rather negative as the evidence is at present, much more work is needed to throw light on this very interesting theory; on the whole it seems probable that Trans-Jordan was ethnologically more closely connected with Arabia than was Palestine, as is the case to-day; similarities in the pottery of the Hadhramaut and of Trans-Jordan can hardly be expected, though some South Arabian pieces were imported into 'Aqaba (Tell el Kheleifeh, unpublished).

The bones were in a poor state of preservation despite the dryness of the tomb, but the fragments of seven skulls have been preserved (in the absence of paraffin wax it was not possible to remove them intact) in the hope that they may yield some information in the future, as up to the present no cranial measurements of any ancient inhabitants of Trans-Jordan are known.

Contents of the Tomb

Apart from the pottery, the only objects found were as follows (Pl. XXXIV, 1-2):

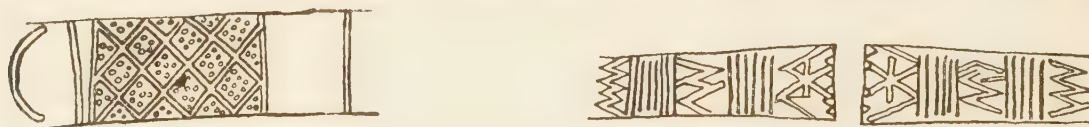


FIG. 2. Incised decoration of anklets 164 and 165

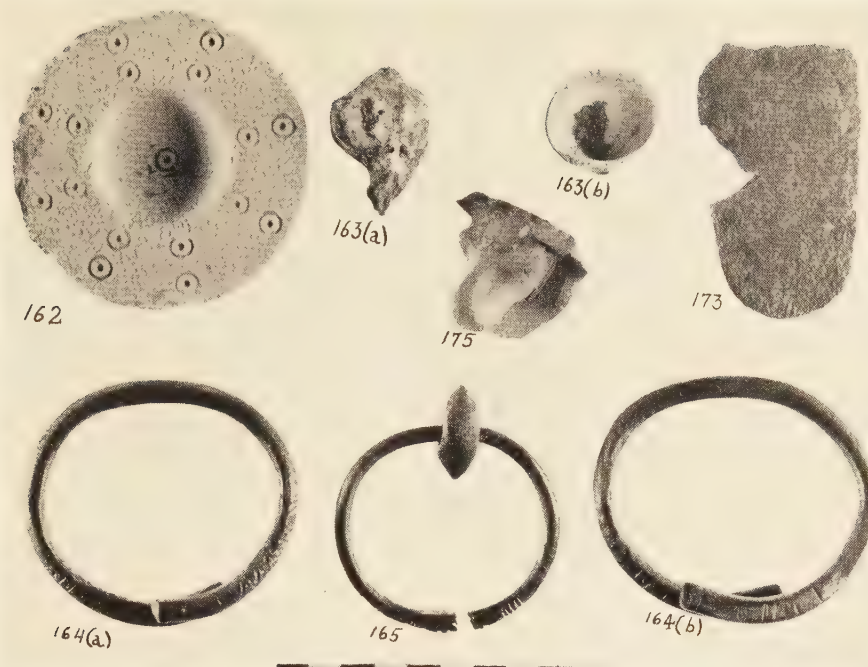
162. Limestone palette with dot-in-circle decoration (P.A.M. Inv. No. 46. 304).

163. (a) and (b). Two shells, one containing blue pigment (46. 305).

164. (a) and (b). Pair of bronze anklets (46. 306) (Fig. 2).

165. Bronze anklet with a curious attachment (46. 307) (Fig. 2).

¹ G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha*, pp. 81 ff. and 90 ff.



1.



2.



3.



4.

1-2. Objects 3-4. Views of tomb
IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB



Pottery
IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

- 166. Bronze fibula with iron pin.
- 167. Bronze fibula, broken.
- 168. Silver fibula with bronze pin, broken.
- 169. Bronze ear-rings, one with a bead on it.
- 170. Three iron arrowheads.
- 171. Iron knife handle.
- 172. Two iron points.
- 173. Iron fragments (scale of armour?) (46. 308).
- 174. Crystal bead and two ear-rings.
- 175. Pottery animal's head, from a vase (46. 309).

Considering the size of the tomb this is a surprisingly small haul, but I do not think anything was removed by the villagers as most of the above were lying very conspicuously on the surface.

However, the quantity of pottery—161 identifiable pieces, many of them whole—amply compensates for the absence of small objects, and throws much more light on Late Iron-Age types in Trans-Jordan.

The Pottery (Pl. XXXV).

Bowls (Figs. 3 and 4, Nos. 1–21). There are several forms which were not found in the 'Amman tombs, including the more orthodox Palestinian types such as 8–12. Nos. 3 and 6 seem to be quite new types, and 15 is of black ware with wheel-burnished slip and grooved rim similar to 46 of the 'Amman tombs.¹ Here again the surface treatment of the bowls is the same, i.e. slip covering about two-thirds of the outside of the vessel, all over inside, with clear wheel burnishing on the outside of the rim and often inside as well, so it seems this must be a peculiarity of some Trans-Jordan potteries. None of the bowls in this group has any trace of painted decoration. Many of the burnished bowls with knob decorations suffer from low firing, as the part in contact with the rock has decomposed from the action of the salts.

Tripod cups (Fig. 4, Nos. 22–30). Nos. 22 and 23 are variations on one form, the rest variations on another; the first two are not burnished, the remainder highly burnished, vertically on the body and horizontally (wheel burnish) on the rim. Not one of them has any painted decoration.

Pointed bottles (Figs. 4 and 5, Nos. 31–7, 42–3). The presence of ten more or less complete specimens and fragments of three or four others establishes without doubt their contemporaneity with Iron Age II.² The placing of the bands of decoration is curiously consistent, i.e. one or two on the neck, two on the shoulders, two about half-way down, and one near the base. No. 35, a particularly fat example, shows the only variation on this theme.

Jugs (Figs. 4 and 6, Nos. 38–41, 44–55) can all be paralleled in the 'Amman tombs, but there were no examples there of the very fine quality ware represented here. No. 53 probably had a handle, but the fragment which might have carried its base is missing. Nos. 54 and 55 are decorated with broad white lines between narrower black ones;

¹ *QDAP*, Vol. XI, pp. 67 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 76 ff.

No. 55 is highly burnished but not particularly fine ware. There were no examples of either of these in the 'Amman tombs.

Water decanters (Fig. 6, Nos. 56-8) are of the usual type, but No. 57 is made of rather fine ware with a red slip highly burnished. No. 58 should probably be reconstructed like No. 30 in the 'Amman tomb A. No. 59 here is a new type, but closely related to the decanters in ware and technique.

Spouted vases. Nos. 47 (Fig. 5), 61, and 62 (Fig. 6) are decorated with black between white bands; 47 has a small circular spout. These show that my reconstruction of No. 25 in 'Amman tomb A is wrong, and that the spout should be at right angles to the handle. A characteristic of the strainer spouts is the broadening of the actual spout just before the point of attachment to the body.

Small two-handled flasks (Fig. 7). These are of the usual type, and include many of fine hard polished red ware with black lines, but some are of much thicker ware and covered with a cream slip on which the bands of broad and very fine black lines are painted. In view of the firmness and cleanness of the black and white bands on some of the jugs, it seems not improbable that these cream slip flasks were made locally. No. 70 is unusual in having no handles.

Mugs and cooking pot (Fig. 7) call for no particular comment; for the former cf. No. 19 in *QDAP*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

Lamps (Figs. 7 and 8). All orthodox forms, but Nos. 85 and three others are made of dark-grey ware, with traces of casual burnishing or polishing.

Summary

The salient characteristics of Iron Age II pottery in Trans-Jordan as revealed in the 'Amman tombs are here confirmed and amplified, and some new forms added to the corpus. The tripod cups, again found in quantity, seem to be a product peculiar to Trans-Jordan, as is the decorative motif of white between black bands. The Trans-Jordan potters were no whit behind their Palestinian contemporaries in technical skill and abundance of design; there is some excellent turner's work on some of the vessels. It is, perhaps, curious that no water-jars were placed in the tomb; there were many sherds of a thick, heavy grey ware with a cream slip, of a size which suggests storage rather than water-jars. Neither rims nor bases of these were found, so there could be no attempt to reconstruct an example.

As regards dating, I am still strongly inclined to adhere to my original suggestion of an eighth-century B.C. date,¹ but Mrs. Simon has aptly demonstrated that some of the forms come down to the seventh century. No data are available from recent or modern usage as to how long a family vault could continue in use, but, in general, ancient conditions would undoubtedly militate against any very long period of time; let us say a century at the most.

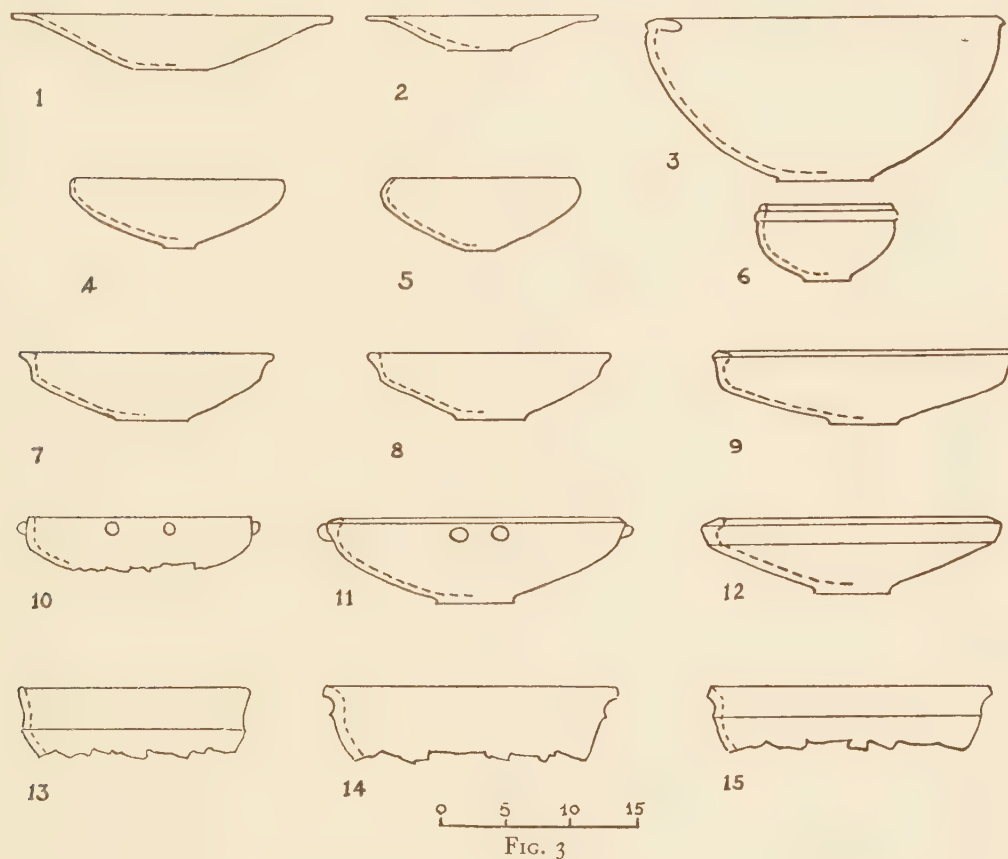
LANKESTER HARDING

¹ *QDAP*, Vol. XI, pp. 69 and 79.

IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

List of Selected Objects from Sahab Tomb

No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
1	Flat bowl	46.219	Buff	Medium	Red	Wheel	Two	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 44.
2	"	46.220	"	"	"	Circular inside	Four	
3	Deep bowl	46.221	Grey	Hard	Pink out, black in	"	..	Variant is buff, no burnish, but with greyish band on rim. Patches of black.
4	Bowl	46.223	Buff	Medium	Pink	..	..	
5	"	46.224	Pink	Hard	Red	Outside	Two	
6	Deep bowl	46.222	Grey	"	Pink out, black in	..	..	



7	Bowl	46.225	Pink	Medium	Red	Circular	..	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 2.
8	"	46.226	Red	"	"	"	..	
9	"	46.227	Buff	Soft	Pink	Traces	..	
10	" four knobs	46.234	"	Medium	"	Circular inside	..	
11	" "	46.233	"	"	Red	"	..	Sherd only.
12	"	46.228	"	"	"	Traces	..	
13	"	46.235	"	Hard	Pink	..	..	
14	"	46.236	"	"	Buff	..	..	
15	"	46.237	Black	Medium	Black	Circular	..	

LANKESTER HARDING

No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
16	Round-bottomed bowl	46.229	Pink	Hard	Red	..	..	Polished outside.
17	" "	46.231	"	"	"	..	..	
18	" "	46.230	Buff	Hard	Pink	..	..	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 3.
19	" "	46.232	"	Medium	"	Circular	..	
20	Bowl	46.303	Black	"	Black	..	..	Sherd only.
21	"	"	"	"	"	..	..	"

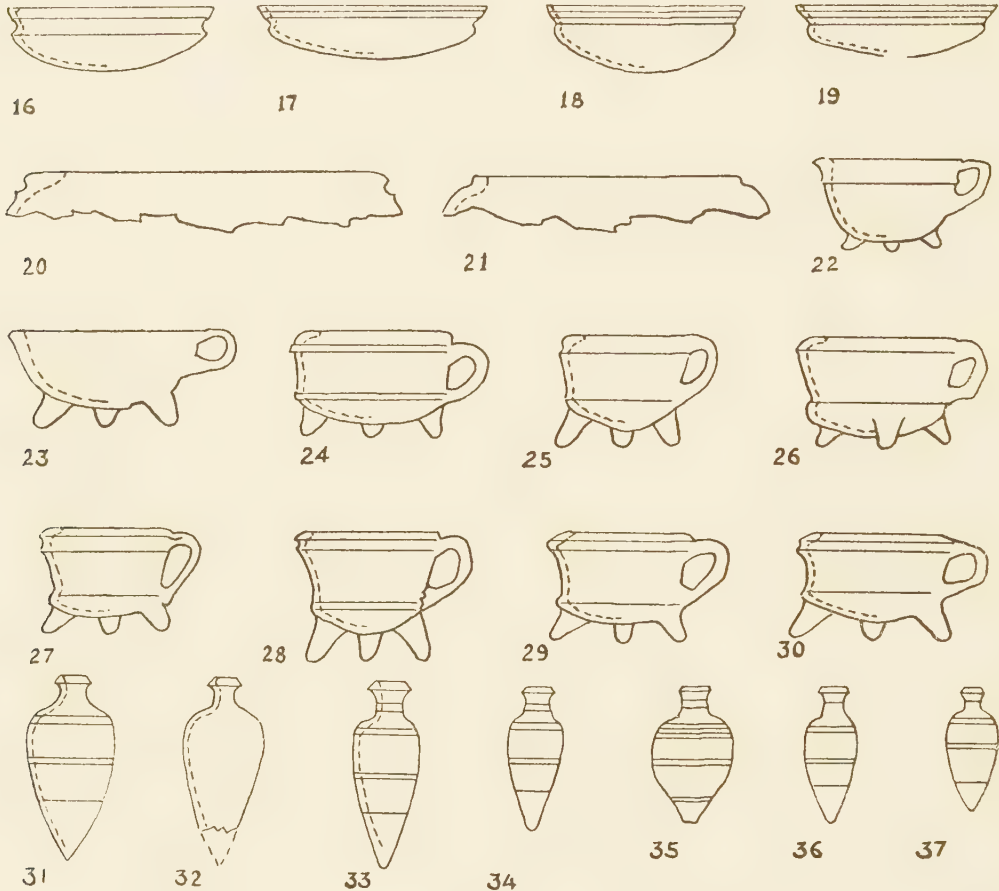


FIG. 4

22	Tripod cup	46.238	Buff	Medium	Buff	..	..	
23	"	46.239	"	"	Pink	Vertical	..	
24	"	46.240	"	"	Red	..	..	
25	"	46.242	..	"	"	Body vert., rim hor.	..	
26	"	46.243	..	Hard	Red	..	Three	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 10.
27	"	46.244	Buff	Medium	Brown	Vertical	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , 12.
28	"	46.246	"	"	Pink	Body vert., rim hor.	..	
29	"	46.245	"	"	Red	"	..	
30	"	46.241	"	Hard	Pink	Vert. and hor.	One	
31	Pointed bottle	46.247	"	Medium	Cream	..	..	Black lines; cf. <i>ib.</i> , Nos. 21 and 22.

IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
32	Pointed bottle	46.248	Pink	Soft	Pink	..	..	
33	"	46.249	Buff	Hard	"	Polished	..	Black lines.
34	"	46.250	Pink	"	"	..	One	"
35	"	46.255	"	Medium	"	..	..	Traces of black lines.
36	"	46.251	Buff	Hard	Cream	..	..	Black lines.
37	"	46.252	"	"	"	..	..	"
38	Large dipper	46.256	"	Medium	Buff	..	Two	
39	Dipper	46.258	Pink	"	Red	..	..	

0 5 10 15



FIG. 5

40	Dipper	46.259	Buff	Medium	Pink	..	One	
41	Oil flask	46.261	"	Soft	Buff	..	..	
42	Pointed bottle	46.253	..	Hard	Cream	..	..	Black lines.
43	"	46.254	Pink	"	Pink	Polished	..	
44	Dipper	46.260	Buff	Soft	..	..	Two	
45	Oil flask	46.262	Grey	Hard	Black	Vertical	..	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 64.
46	Small jug	46.257	Buff	"	Pink	..	..	
47	Spouted dipper	46.263	..	Medium	"	..	..	Black and white bands; cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 25.
48	Jug	46.264	Buff	"	"	..	Four	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 34.
49	"	46.265	..	"	"	..	Three	
50	"	46.266	Buff	"	"	..	Five	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 31.
51	"	46.267	..	"	Red	..	Two	

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No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
52	Jug	46.268	Buff	Medium	Pink	..	Two	
53	"	46.272	"	Soft	"	..	..	
54	Decorated jug	46.270	Brown	Hard	Brown	..	..	Black and white bands.

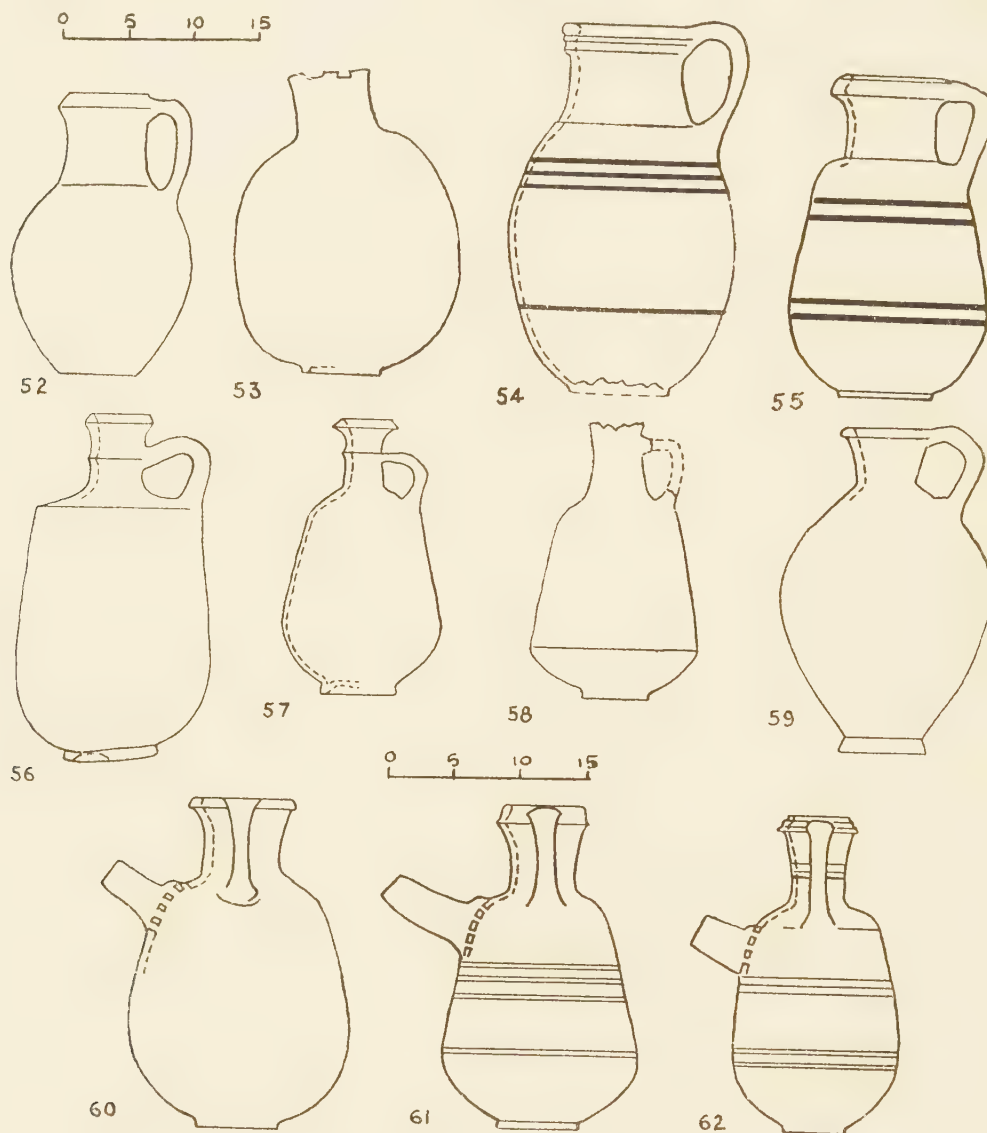


FIG. 6

55	Decorated jug	46.271	..	Medium	Red	Body hor., neck vert.	..	Black and white bands.
56	Water decanter	46.274	..	"	Buff	..	..	Cf. <i>QDAP</i> , <i>ib.</i> , No. 29.
57	"	46.275	Buff	Soft	Pink	Horizontal	..	
58	Jug	46.273	"	Medium	Red	Body hor., neck vert.	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , No. 30
59	Water decanter	46.269	..	Hard	Cream	..	..	
60	Strainer spout jug	46.276	Pink	Medium	Red	..	..	

IRON-AGE TOMB AT SAHAB

No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
61	Strainer spout jug	46.277	..	Medium	Red	..	..	Black and white bands.
62	" "	46.278	..	"	"	..	..	Black and white bands; ribbing on neck.
63	Two-handled flask	46.279	Pink	"	Pink	..	..	
64	" "	46.280	Buff	"	Buff	Polished	Three	Black lines; 1 ex. with cream slip.
65	" "	46.281	Pink	Hard	Red	Body hor., neck vert.	Seven	Black lines.

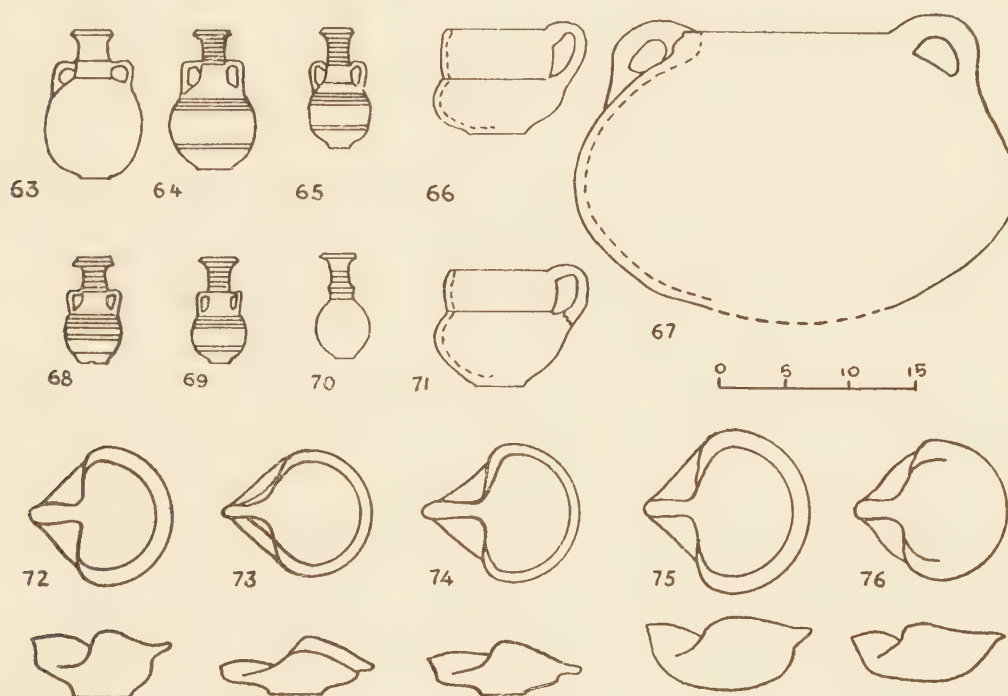


FIG. 7

66	Mug	46.285	Buff, grey core	Medium	Pink	..	..	
67	Cooking pot	46.287	Brown	"	..	..	..	Usual grits.
68	Two-handled flask	46.282	Pink	Hard	Cream	..	Two	Black lines.
69	" "	46.283	"	"	Pink	Body hor., neck vert.	One	"
70	Small flask	46.284	Buff	Medium	Red	..	..	
71	Mug	46.286	Grey	"	Buff	..	..	
72	Lamp	46.297	Pink	"	..	..	..	
73	"	46.298	Buff	Hard	Buff	..	Two	
74	"	46.299	"	"	..	Body hor., neck vert.	Four	
75	"	46.300	"	Medium	..	..	One	
76	"	46.301	Pink	"	..	..	Three	

Cf. *QDAP*, *ib.*, No. 19.

LANKESTER HARDING

No.	Description	P.A.M. Inv. No.	Body	Fire	Slip or Wash	Burnish	Other examples	Remarks
77	Lamp	46.302	Buff	Hard	..	..	Two	
78	"	46.288	Red	Medium	..	..	Five	
79	"	46.289	Brown	"	..	..	One	
80	"	46.290	Buff	Hard	..	..	One	

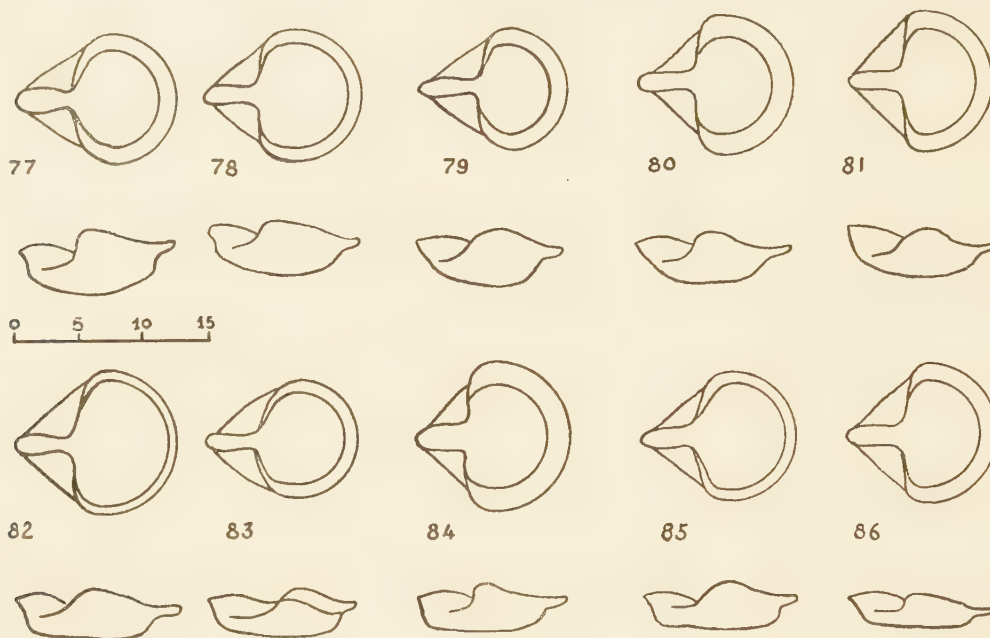


FIG. 8

81	Lamp	46.291	Pink	Medium	..	..	Three	
82	"	46.292	Brown	"	..	..	Two	
83	"	46.293	Pink	"	..	..	Three	
84	"	46.294	Brown	Hard	..	..	One	
85	"	46.295	Grey	Medium	..	..	Three	
86	"	46.296	Brown	"	..	..	..	

SOME CAPITALS FROM THE AQSA MOSQUE

BETWEEN 1938 and 1942 the middle and east aisles of the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem were demolished and reconstructed. This gave an opportunity to measure and re-photograph a group of columns and capitals that formerly supported the arcades of those aisles. The purpose of this note is to publish the photographs and offer a conjecture on the date and origin of the capitals (Fig. 1).¹

Those who knew the old Aqsa will remember that the three central aisles of the mosque were divided by arcades which rested on masonry columns crowned by capitals of indeterminate 'Byzantine' character, concerning whose date and origins varying opinions were expressed. A third row of similar columns and capitals was to be seen in the aisle immediately east of the central nave; and the existence of a fourth might be suspected, walled up within the line of piers that still separates the central part of the mosque from the two western aisles.

Each of the three visible arcades consisted of seven arches, which came to rest at the south end on monolithic marble columns and at the north on rectangular wall pilasters; six limestone masonry columns in each row supported the arches between. It is these limestone columns with their capitals, and those of the wall pilasters, that form the subject of this note.² With the marble columns at the south and their capitals and bases we are not directly concerned; they had nothing in common with the rest of the series.

The bases of the eighteen columns were, with two exceptions, uniform in pattern though exhibiting variations in execution (Fig. 2 and Pls. XXXVI and XXXVII). The exceptions were those carrying the columns numbered 7 and 11 on Fig. 1 (Pl. XXXVII). The latter of these was a re-used base of classical pattern with the top fillet cut down to fit the bottom drum of the column, and with the square plinth pared away to a circular plan. The former was an unskilful imitation of the other bases. The bases of the three wall pilasters were either damaged or obscured by plaster; their profiles, where distinguishable, seemed to conform with that of the column bases.

The column shafts were generally built up in drums composed of two semi-cylindrical stones of medium hard cream-coloured 'malaki' limestone. To obtain a fine joint the adjacent faces of the half-drums were slightly hollowed out. The two halves were held together by iron clamps, with the ends set in lead, or by straps of lead.³ The drums were bonded by alternating the axes of the joints; and a key was provided for the mortar by channels cut in the beds. In columns 7 and 11 a number of the drums were complete cylindrical stones, most of which were of the harder variety of limestone locally known as *mizzi hilu*. The number of drums or courses in each column varied from nine to eleven,

¹ Now to be seen in the Museum of the Haram ash Sharif.

² Fig. 1 is a plan of the three central aisles north of the dome; the columns and pilasters are numbered on it serially for reference. The photographs reproduced on Pls. XXXVI–XXXVIII show the whole series of capitals except one, No. 19, that was greatly damaged.

³ The Persian traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1047, a dozen years after the probable date of construction of these colonnades (see p. 111 below), states that both the shafts and capitals were riveted with lead. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 106.

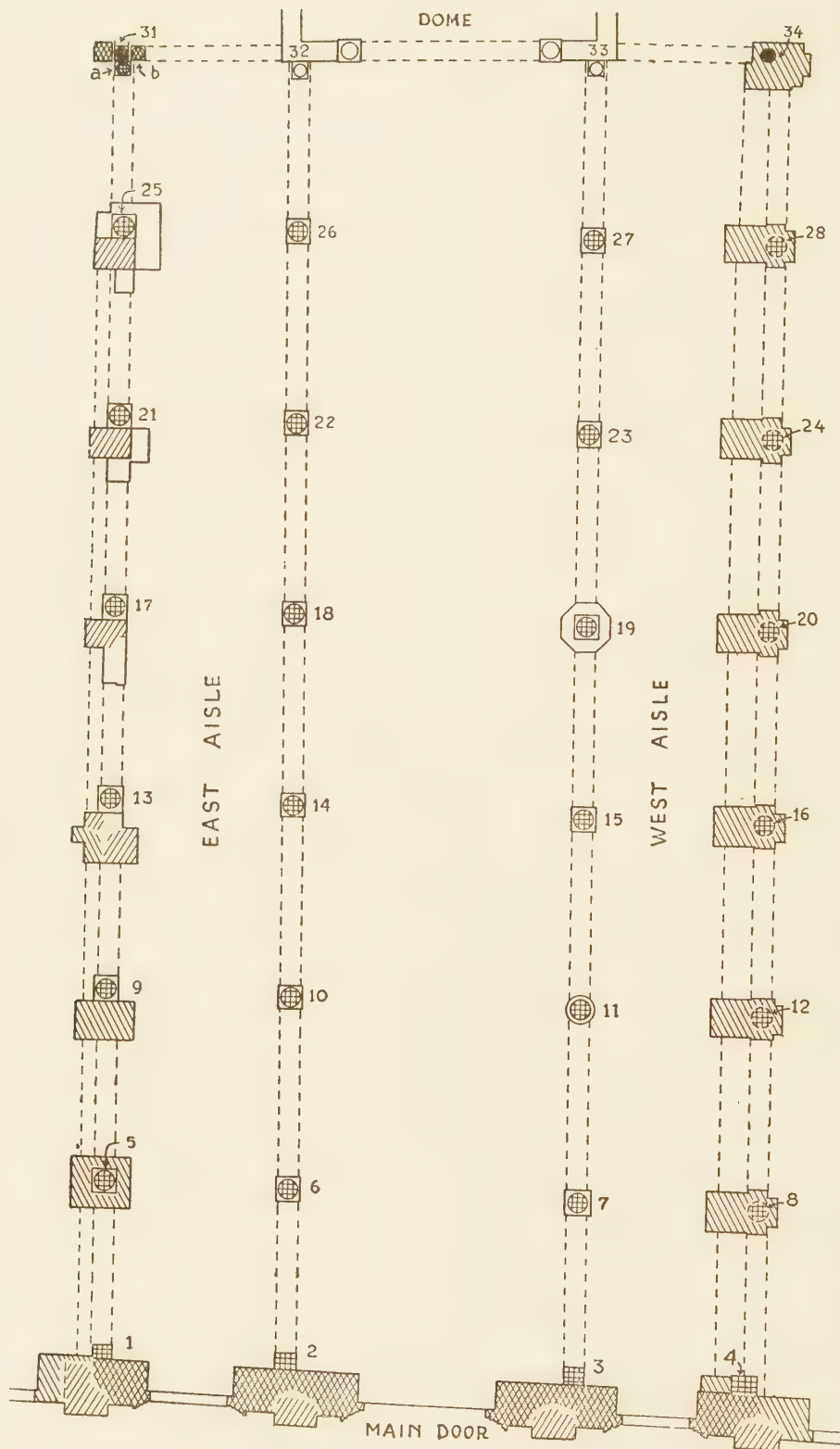


FIG. 1. Plan of Central Nave and Aisles

CAPITALS FROM THE AQSA MOSQUE

and their height from 30 to 60 cm. The columns numbered 10, 7, and 11, however, contained some exceptionally high drums, the bottom course of column 10 being 80 cm., and the third course of 11 only 10 cm. less; column 7 contained three drums over 60 cm. high.

The shafts were somewhat squat in their proportions, measuring from 80 to 86 cm. in diameter as against 3.75 m. high, a ratio of approximately 1 : 4.5. They were strictly cylindrical. Each column was finished at the bottom with an annulet 10 cm. high and at the top with an ornamental collar; the latter was in some cases cut on the capital instead of on the column itself. Similarly the bottom of the shaft was in a few cases cut on the same stone as the base.

The capitals, with the exception once more of Nos. 7 and 11, were carved in a whitish limestone; they had been coated in recent times with a thick layer of yellowish oil paint. The capitals of columns 7 and 11 were found to consist of a plain stone core with carved ornamentation in plaster.

A glance at the photographs on Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII will show that not only the capitals but also the columns and bases, with the exception always of Nos. 7 and 11, formed substantially a homogeneous set. The consistency of the stone used, the exact fit of the component parts, the relative consistency in scale,¹ and the uniform technique in masonry and sculpture were enough to justify de Vogüé's observation² that the elements of the whole series were made for each other. If further proof of unity were needed, the ornamental collars marking the junction of each column with its capital would supply it. In seven cases out of sixteen this feature was found carved on the capitals; in the remaining nine it was cut on the top drums of the columns. In all the style and workmanship were identical.³ It followed that the capitals and top drums of the columns were cut simultaneously and for each other.

The two northern columns, however, Nos. 7 and 11 in the western arcade of the nave, with their capitals and bases, were exceptional, as we have seen, in every respect. At best

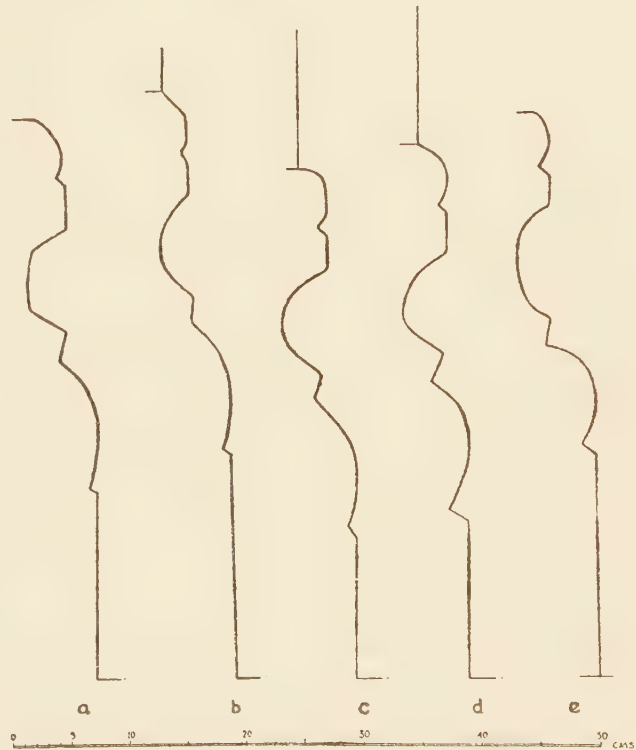


FIG. 2. Profiles of bases: (a)-(d) from the Aqsa; (e) from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, north transept

¹ See Fig. 3 and table of dimensions on p. 120.

² *Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 100.

³ The Arab master-mason engaged by the Supreme Moslem Council to carve copies of the old capitals for use in the reconstructed aisles assured me that these collars and capitals must have been carved by the same man since the stone, tooling, and manner of work were the same throughout.

they could be described as poor imitations of the rest of the series. In other words the eighteen intermediate positions in the three arcades were filled with sixteen supports comprising one set, and two odd ones. The inference is clear: if the sixteen columns and capitals were made for each other, they were not made for their actual position in the Aqsa. Had they been so, the builders would surely have supplied the full number required and not left two spaces to be filled with scrap material. The odd columns can only be explained as makeshifts provided to supplement a set that was available but fell short of the number required. The problem before us concerns the original place and the date of that set.

In previous studies of the Aqsa Mosque the interest of these capitals has not been overlooked. The earliest of the modern accounts is that of de Vogüé, who writes on p. 100 of his *Temple de Jérusalem*: 'Les uns, imitation lointaine du corinthien, sont à feuilles sèchement refendues et brusquement retournées; les autres à corbeille réticulée ne manquent pas d'originalité . . .' and again: 'Les chapiteaux sont d'assez bons morceaux de sculpture byzantine, qui peuvent très bien appartenir au viii^e siècle.' Concluding that the capitals belonged to a primitive mosque de Vogüé nevertheless attributes to the period of Justinian the pilaster capital¹ shown on his Pl. XXXII.

A different theory is propounded by Strzygowski in a contribution to Vol. II of *Der Islam*. The author of this article utilizes an earlier study published with photographs by Kondakov in his *Archaeological Journey through Syria and Palestine* of 1904. Both Strzygowski and Kondakov attribute the capitals to the sixth century. Strzygowski compares them with the capitals in the Church of Qasr ibn Wardan, a ruin of strongly Byzantine character in North Syria,² and suggests that they were taken from the New Church of the Blessed Virgin built by Justinian. In support of this theory he quotes an allusion by Procopius to the 'mighty flame-coloured pillars' which were hewn from a neighbouring mountain to sustain the walls of that church.³ Whatever their supposed source, Strzygowski's conclusion that the capitals were borrowed from an earlier building was an important contribution to the problem.⁴

More recent accounts by Weigand and Watzinger⁵ revert to de Vogüé's earlier opinion. Both scholars note the late style and form of the capitals; while agreeing that they are essentially Byzantine in character, both suggest that with certain individual exceptions they might have been made for the Aqsa by workmen previously employed on the restoration of Christian buildings under Heraclius.

The dismantling of the colonnades themselves has now made it possible to examine the capitals more closely; before attempting to answer the question where they might have come from it may be useful to give a more detailed account of their decoration than has hitherto been possible.

¹ Apparently that of pilaster 2, our Pl. XXXVIII.

² H. C. Butler, *Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sect. B, part 2, p. 34.

³ In fact, as mentioned above, the columns of the Aqsa are built of cream-coloured limestone masonry.

⁴ *Der Islam*, Vol. II, p. 87. Though the reasons for reaching it were wrong: the capitals were not, in fact, cut at second-hand for insertion of the wooden tie-beams. The crosses detected on the abacus bosses (p. 90) are non-existent.

⁵ Weigand in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1914-19, pp. 202 ff.; Watzinger in his *Denkmäler Palästinas*, Vol. II, p. 144.

CAPITALS FROM THE AQSA MOSQUE

The sixteen column capitals (excluding the two carved in plaster, Nos. 7 and 11, which may now be left out of the discussion) and the three pilaster capitals may be divided by their form and design into three classes, which we may for convenience designate A, B, and C.

Class A consists of eight capitals which occupied the four southernmost positions in each of the two central colonnades.¹ Except for No. 27, which is shown on Pl. XXXVIII, and No. 19, which was encased in a masonry pier and could not be photographed, they are shown *in situ* with their columns in Pl. XXXVI.

The decoration is composed of six horizontal registers, or seven if we include the half-round collar, which properly speaking belongs to the top of the column though it is sometimes carved on the capital (Fig. 3, nos. 15 and 22). Above this there come four rings of acanthus foliage, eight leaves in each ring, of which the uppermost differs from the rest in having, in the centre of each side, a wide fan of symmetrically disposed foliage without a central stem. The remaining leaves of normal composition are consistent in form but show variations in detail.

As a consequence of the division of the foliage into four horizontal registers the individual leaves are abnormally low in proportion to their width. Each leaf is symmetrical about a central stem consisting of a square-edged rib, tapering slightly upwards, which projects from a plain surface gently recessed towards it. The stem disappears behind a steeply drooping leaf-tip closely flanked by a pair of upstanding three-tipped lobes. Below these, to right and left, the leaf fans out in two lateral lobes of several tips. In these lobes the uppermost tips on each side curve back to form oval or nearly circular eyelets at the main indentations. The veins are represented by v-shaped grooves or hollows of moderate depth which curve down in a symmetrical pattern towards the wide base of the leaf. The pattern so formed, with the eyelets and the shape of the dark hollows between adjacent leaves, is a constant and characteristic feature of the capitals.

Directly above the uppermost acanthus wreath two pairs of slender spiral volutes support the edge of a thin disk, a vestige of the bell-shaped calathus of the classical Corinthian form. The tendrils which compose the volutes are divided by a groove lengthwise into two segments.² In plan they follow the curve of the projecting segment they support. The span of the volutes is small in relation to the width of the capitals; they neither reach the corners of the abacus nor touch each other in the centre. The space left beneath the corners is awkwardly filled by a strip of debased egg-and-tongue which varies in width to fit it. In the gap between the inner spirals is a leaf ornament, varying from capital to capital (Fig. 4).

The abacus, which forms the top register, is from 10 to 12 cm. high. On plan the sides recede gently from near the corner to a central boss, which is composed of two half-palmettes set tip to tip; the sides are enriched with strips of running ornament set between plain fillets.

Class B consists of six column capitals, all found in the outer arcade of the east aisle³ (Pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII).

¹ Numbered 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26, and 27 in Fig. 1.

² Except in capitals Nos. 14 and 18 where some of the tendrils are single (Pl. XXXVI).

³ Of the columns only two, 17 and 21, are shown in the Plates. The remainder were either encased in later

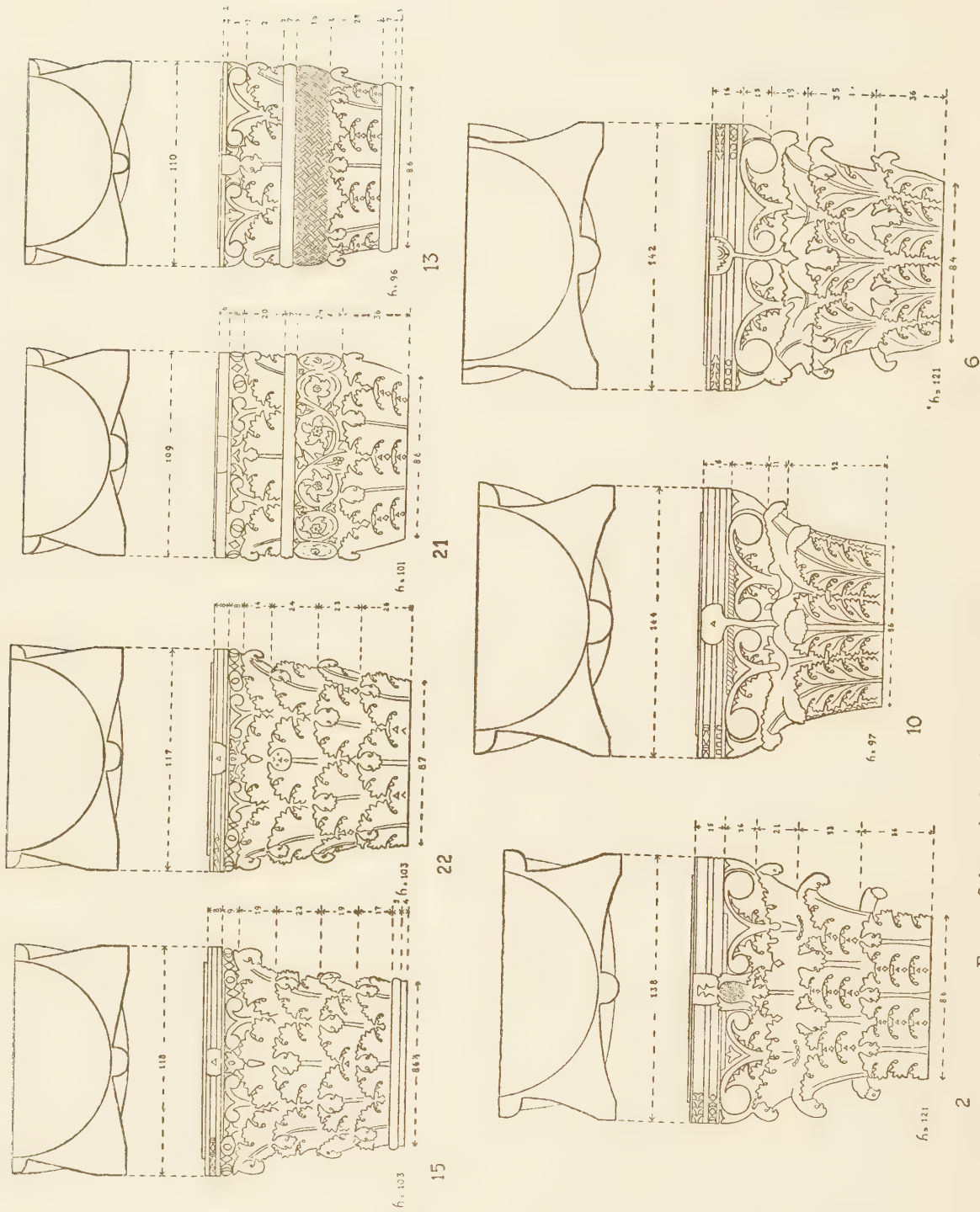


FIG. 3. Schematic elevations of column and pilaster capitals of groups A, B, and C

CAPITALS FROM THE AQSA MOSQUE

In composition, scale, and proportion they are closely related to class A, with this difference, that the three lowest rings of acanthus are replaced by a single ring of acanthus surmounted by a kind of pulvin decorated either with basketwork (columns 5, 13, 17, and 25), or with a leafy scroll (columns 9 and 21). This is divided from the upper registers by an ornamental collar similar to the collar at the base of the capital.

The close resemblance of class B to class A in detail and composition may be seen from a comparison of the photographs and from the examples drawn in Fig. 3. No further description of class B is therefore necessary, but the principal common characteristics may be summarized as follows:

(a) *Scale and proportions.* Comparison of the elevations and plans of average capitals from each class shows that the proportions and scale are practically identical (Fig. 3; cf. also the table of dimensions on p. 120).

(b) *Form.* In both classes the transition from the circular to the square plan is effected by elongating and adjusting the pose of the corner leaves in the top wreath of foliage. The volutes, reduced to dwarf proportions, lose their traditional function of supporting the corners of the abacus and assisting the transition from circle to square. Supporting the rim of an imagined calathus they are linked with the circular part of the capital.

(c) *Acanthus.* With some variations in proportion, resulting from factors in the design of the capitals, the acanthus leaves in the two classes are identical and show the same variations.

(d) *Secondary ornaments.* The same kinds of minor ornaments are used in both classes for decorating the collars, abacus, and the like (cf. Figs. 4-7). In particular we may note the form of the volutes, with the space-filling ornaments between them, and the awkwardly placed egg-and-tongue beneath the corners of the abacus.¹

We conclude from these points of comparison that both sets emanated from the same workshop and were designed for one and the same architectural context.

The third class, C, presents a more difficult problem. It consists of three pilaster capitals (Nos. 1-3, Pl. XXXVIII) and of the two capitals that crowned the northern columns in the eastern arcade of the nave, Nos. 6 and 10 (Pl. XXXVII). Differences both in design and in scale distinguish these five capitals from the fourteen just described.

In composition and certain points of detail the capitals of class C appear at first sight to come nearer than the rest to classical models. The composition includes a deep abacus supported by pairs of volutes, which emerge in something like the conventional Corinthian manner from sprays of foliage held in a hornlike sheath. In the pilaster capitals there is room between the sprays for an independent acanthus leaf; but this is absent from the column capitals. As in classes A and B the segment of a disk, representing the rim of the traditional calathus, projects beneath the abacus; it is emphasized by horizontal channelling or, in No. 10, by a rope ornament. The bosses on the sides of the abacus

masonry or thickly plastered over. Some of this plaster, exposed by the demolition of some Crusader piers built against columns 13, 17, and 21, was found to be painted in imitation of marble, with a geometrical zone at the top of the shafts. Hence, probably, the description of the columns, by Nasir-i-Khusrau in 1047, as 'marble'.

¹ The capital of column 5 (Pl. XXXVIII) is exceptional in lacking the usual decorated abacus, and in having somewhat larger volutes than the rest.

vary in form and are rather more conspicuous and elaborate than in classes A and B. The volutes are fully developed and reach nearly to the corners of the capital; at the actual corners the adjacent spirals are separated by a trefoil.¹ The inner volutes on each side are separated in the column capitals by the wavy stems of flowers or plants that form the abacus bosses; in the pilasters by an ornament which represents either a bunch of

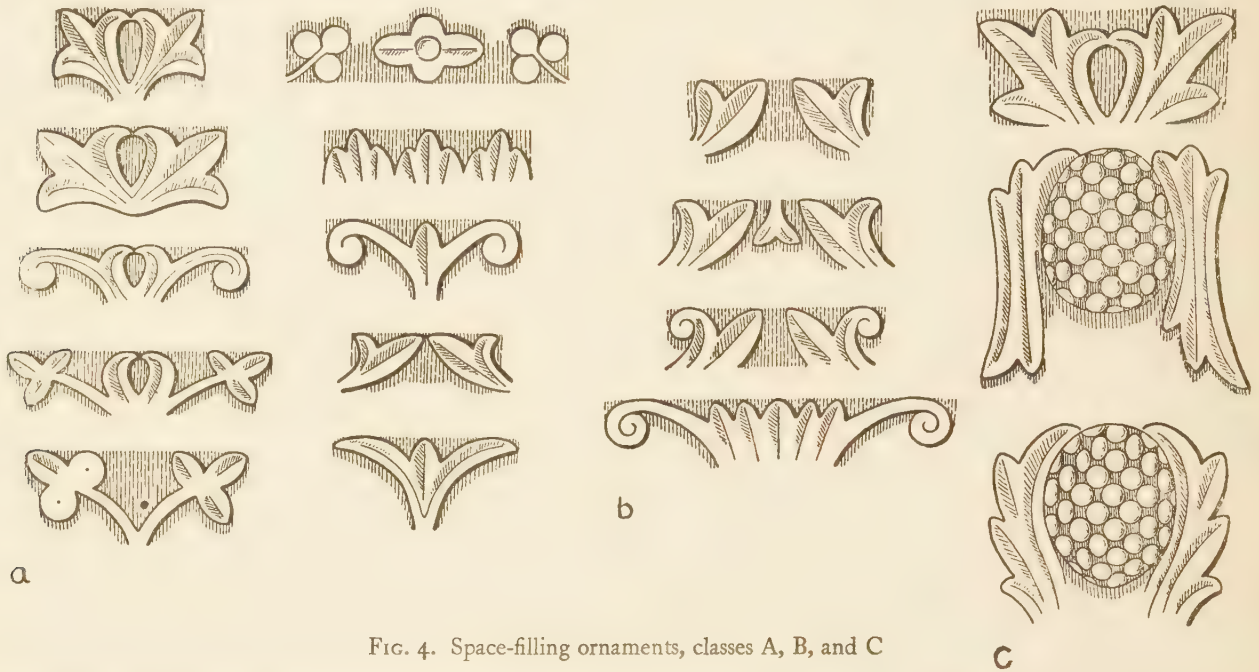


FIG. 4. Space-filling ornaments, classes A, B, and C

grapes between leaves (in Nos. 2 and 3), or (in No. 1) a pair of leaves identical with one of the corresponding motifs in capitals of class A. The lower registers consist of two tiers of acanthus leaves, except in the capital of column 10, which has a single tier of exceptionally tall leaves.

The acanthus of these capitals is somewhat less stylized than in A and B. The main points of difference are: (a) the midribs are modelled to merge naturally into the structure of the leaf, instead of standing out square from a receding background; (b) the axes of the lobes are accentuated by a deep groove; (c) the inner tips curve back rather less sharply, so that the enclosed eyelet is more elongated; (d) the overhanging tops of the leaves are thrown farther forward; (e) in the two column capitals the leaves are spaced out so that the tips do not touch.

There are thus notable differences in design and in detail between the capitals of class C and the rest, against which it might be thought no argument for a common origin could be sustained. But while there are differences there are also significant resemblances. In the first place both capitals fit their columns to perfection (Pl. XXXVII), and these display the characteristic ornamental collars cut on their top drums,² in all respects conformable

¹ Cf. the capitals in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Harvey, Lethaby, and others, *Church of the Nativity*, Pls. 8 and 9.

² On two of the pilasters no collar survived; on the third it was incomplete but cut on the top stone of the pilaster.



26

23

22

18

15

14

Columns of Central Nave
AQSA MOSQUE CAPITALS



11

7

10

6

21

17

Columns of Central Nave and East Aisle
AQSA MOSQUE CAPITALS



Pilaster and column capitals of Central Nave and East Aisle. (For dimensions see table on p. 120)
AQSA MOSQUE CAPITALS



Columns and pilaster capitals from St. Helena's Chapel (A-C) and Golden Gate (D-H)
AQSA MOSQUE CAPITALS

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to the rest of the series. The capitals themselves have the same deep abacus, with similar varieties of ornament, as those in classes A and B (Fig. 5, p. 114). The volutes, though ampler in scale and more logically employed, correspond exactly in form with the dwarf volutes of A and B, and like them are divided lengthwise by a groove (except No. 3 which may be unfinished). Beneath the stems and spirals of the volutes the whole space (except, again, in No. 3) is filled with foliage, which is identical in form and character with that of class A. The design and modelling of the leaves in the main acanthus registers differs, it is true, from the leaves in classes A and B, but the characteristically modelled leaf tips of the three pilaster capitals and some of those from both of the columns (Fig. 6 (c)) are simply a larger version of the peculiar form which characterizes these features in the capitals of the other two classes. The grape clusters between the inner volutes in the pilaster capitals 2 and 3 (Pl. XXXVIII) are not paralleled elsewhere; but the symmetrical leaves in the corresponding position on No. 1 are identical with a common motif in class A (Fig. 4). Generally speaking the decoration displays the same overcrowding and variety of detail which is characteristic of classes A and B.

These details, though fairly trivial in themselves, are true marks of style because they reveal the spontaneous mannerisms rather than the conscious programme of the sculptors; and beneath all differences of form they show an underlying unity. In the differences, on the other hand, lying as they do in the broad handling of the composition, we seem to detect the deliberate diversification of a thoughtful designer rather than the spontaneous result of an evolutionary process. The apparent archaisms of class C, the spacing out of foliage, the cauliculi, the spreading volutes and the calathus rims, leave undisguised the degeneracy implicit in the crowded superfluity of minor ornament and feeble imitation of classical detail. In short, these are no 'early' capitals but laborious approximations to an orthodox but obsolete Corinthian type. In their unconscious mannerisms, their rendering of details in the less conspicuous foliage, their dislike of leaving any space unfilled, and their naïve mishandling of classical motifs, the sculptors reveal themselves as true contemporaries of the designers of classes A and B. In a word, the thesis that any individuals in the whole series of Aqsa capitals belong to an earlier class than the rest is untenable. All nineteen column and pilaster capitals reveal a single style; their origin must be sought in a single architectural context. That context, for reasons that must next be summarized, was not the Aqsa Mosque.

It is known from two inscriptions of the Fatimid Caliph adh Dhahir,¹ one of which is extant in the mosaic decoration of the northern dome-bearing arch of the Aqsa, that extensive repairs were undertaken in the mosque about A.D. 1035. Prior to that the Aqsa had been rebuilt under the Abbasid al Mahdi towards the end of the eighth century.

The recent demolition of the old nave of the Aqsa revealed a number of facts concerning both reconstructions. One of the conclusions to which they pointed was that the arcades whose supports we are now concerned with were newly built from the foundations at the time of the Fatimid repairs in or about A.D. 1035. These arcades were demonstrably secondary to the north wall of the mosque and to the northern dome-bearing arch on which they abutted. The north wall of the mosque belongs undoubtedly to the pre-

¹ G. Wiet in Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus . . .*, Part II, Vol. II, *Jérusalem*, pp. 452-3.

Fatimid building. Although the arcades of that building, north of the dome, have disappeared, the springers of their northern arches still remain and became visible in the existing north wall when the Fatimide nave walls were pulled down. These springers showed that in the pre-Fatimide building the long arcades abutted on the north wall without terminal pilasters. At the south end they abutted in precisely the same way on the northern piers of the dome and on the transverse arcade that prolonged to the east the line of the northern dome-bearing arch. It follows, as a necessary consequence of these facts, that the pilaster capitals and bases which actually exist amongst the series we are considering, and which are homogeneous with them, were not taken from the earlier Aqsa.

Furthermore, some of the foundations of the pre-Fatimide arcades were exposed by excavations in parts of the central nave and aisles. These foundations indicated that the arcades of the earlier mosque rested on rectangular piers of relatively slender girth, very different from the bulky masonry columns that we have to account for. Further, those piers were more closely spaced, and therefore more numerous, than the supports of the Fatimide arcades; had their shafts and capitals been re-used by the Fatimide builders the numerical shortage attested by the odd columns and capitals in positions 7 and 11, and by the marble monoliths at the south end of each colonnade, would be unexplained. All the evidence, therefore, goes to show that the columns and capitals we are discussing originated in some building other than the Aqsa Mosque. The next step is to see whether the style and dimensions of the capitals themselves may supply some clue to the age or character of that building.

We reached the conclusion on p. 111 above that in spite of differences in design the whole set of nineteen column and pilaster capitals composed a single historical group. I suggested that the broad variations between the three distinguishable classes were such as might be expected to result from a deliberate aim at diversity on the part of a single group of sculptors. I would now go farther and put forward the thesis that this deliberate diversification is a positive mark of style, embodying a definable characteristic of the artistic environment in which our capitals originated.

To call this desire for diversity an obsession on the part of the sculptors would be to exaggerate; but they certainly carried it to a notable length. Quite apart from those broad differences which distinguish each of the three classes from the others, it is to be noted that within each class one capital differs from the next: as witness the leafy scrolls and basket-work in class B; the single acanthus register of capital No. 10; or in all three classes the varying ornaments of the abacus and base collar, the spacers between the volutes, and other details.

If conscious diversification is a mark of style it is one that can only be detected in a group; and here we are handicapped, in seeking comparisons, by the scarcity of true groups amongst extant Palestinian capitals. It is true that assemblages of capitals may be found in such buildings as the Dome of the Rock, or the Dome of the Chain; but the groupings in these cases are manifestly fortuitous and have no significance for the present purpose. From Christian churches of the basilical type, now mostly in ruins, small groups of capitals exist; but none of these offers any analogy to the diversity that is characteristic

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of the Aqsa capitals. The outstanding example from early Christian architecture in Palestine is the group of over fifty columns and pilasters in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem; nothing could emphasize more strikingly the quality of diversity in the Aqsa capitals than the contrast they offer to the unvarying sameness of those from Bethlehem.¹

To find some analogy to the deliberate avoidance of uniformity which is characteristic of the Aqsa capitals it is necessary to look farther afield than any of the groups now associated with the earlier Christian church sites. It happens that there are two monuments in Palestine, and a third in Trans-Jordan, where groups of capitals have survived that display the same characteristic.

The first of these is the Golden Gate in the Haram ash Sharif, a building whose date is uncertain but which cannot have been built before the end of the sixth century and more probably belongs to the seventh or even eighth. In the Golden Gate there are eight shallow wall pilasters, two engaged half-columns and two free-standing columns, all carrying ornamental capitals. Amongst these there are four quite distinct varieties of composition, over and above two Ionic capitals, which crown the free-standing columns. Within each variety every capital differs in some detail from its neighbour. Nevertheless there runs through the whole series a certain affinity of character exactly analogous to that which unites the diverse classes in the Aqsa (Pl. XXXIX, D-H).

The second monument that offers a parallel is the eighth-century Umayyad palace of Kh. Mafjar in the Jordan Valley. From different parts of this building and its annexes at least three, and perhaps five, distinct types of capitals have been recovered; and within each type no two capitals are exactly alike. Yet the superficial resemblance of each set to all the others leaves no doubt that all derived from a single group of sculptors.²

The third and last true group of capitals to my knowledge that is comparable in deliberate diversification to the capitals of the Aqsa is a small group from the ruins of the Umayyad Palace of al Muwaqqar in Trans-Jordan, closely dated by an inscription of Yazid b. 'Abdul Malik to the years A.D. 720-4. In this case eighteen column and pilaster capitals are recorded, all of comparable scale, yet no two of them identical in composition or detail.³

So much for conscious diversity as a mark of style. There are three other features of our capitals which are sufficiently distinctive to have a value for purposes of comparison. They are: the treatment of the abacus; a peculiarity in the form of the leaf tips; and the ornamental collar marking the junction of the column with its capital.

In the Aqsa capitals the abacus is almost invariably⁴ decorated with a running ornament divided in the middle by a boss in the form of a double leaf or similar motif. Fig. 5 (a)-(c) brings together the varieties of ornament that have survived undamaged in the three classes. They are, of course, all quite commonplace motifs and would not merit reproduction but for their significance as employed on the abacus of these capitals. In all the

¹ On the Bethlehem capitals see J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, pp. 151-3; after Mr. William Harvey's discoveries in the Church of the Nativity there can be no further doubt that the capitals there belong to the reconstruction under Justinian.

² *QDAP*, Vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, pp. 47-66.

³ *QDAP*, Vol. XII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 63-9.

⁴ Only on capital No. 5 is the abacus reduced to a mere 2 cm. in height, and so carries no ornament.

scores of Palestinian capitals of varying design and date, whether classical, Byzantine, or medieval, I can recall only two groups beside those in the Aqsa, in which the sides of the abacus are decorated with a similar series of motifs. They are, again, those in the Golden

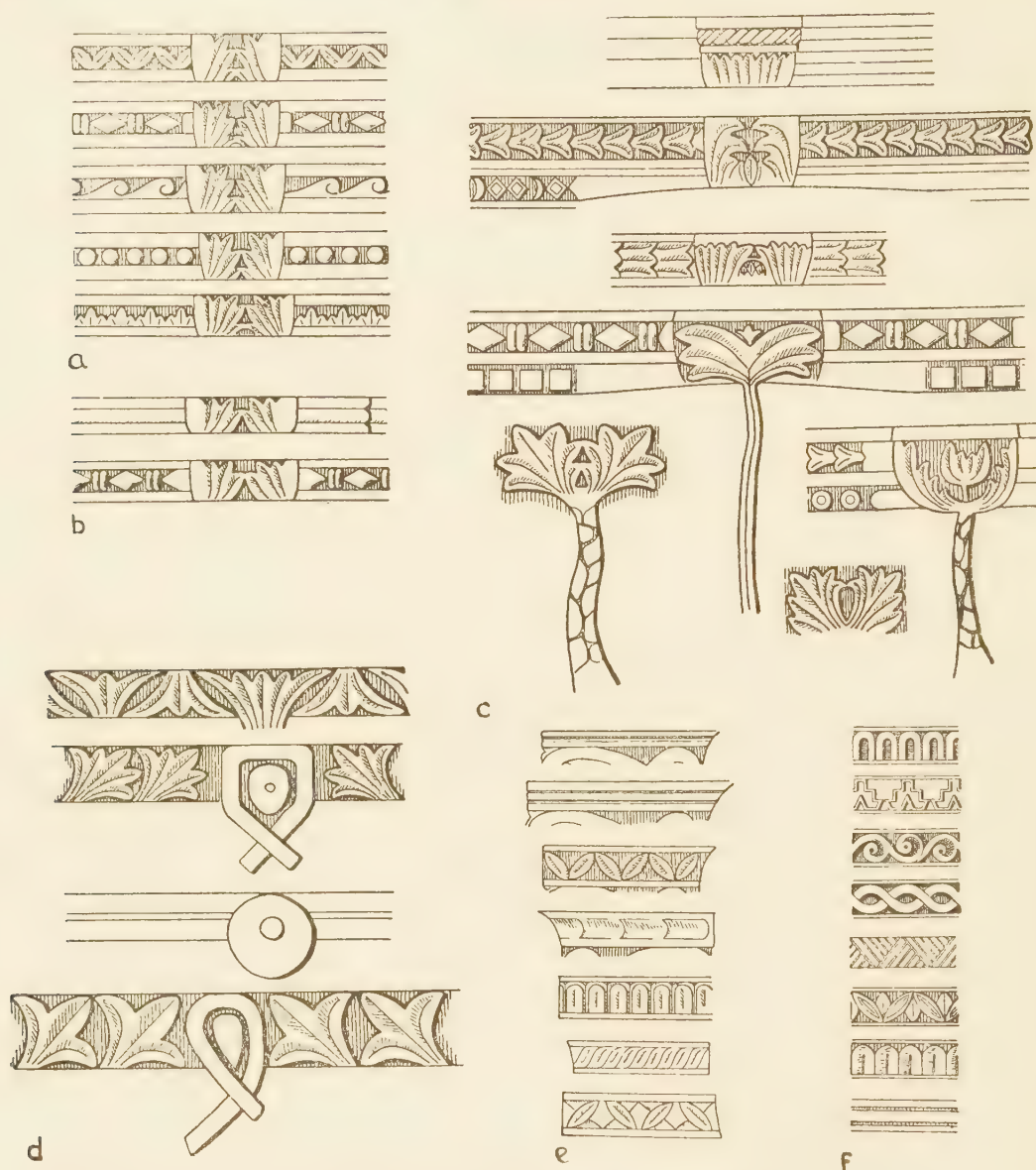


FIG. 5. Abacus ornaments, *a-c*, from Aqsa; *d*, Golden Gate; *e*, Kh. Mafjar; *f*, Al Muwaqqar

Gate and at Kh. Mafjar; the capitals at al Muwaqqar in Trans-Jordan make a third group¹ (Fig. 5 (*d*)-(f)).

A second characteristic, which has struck the attention of previous observers, is the form of the drooping tip of the acanthus leaves, particularly in classes A and B of the Aqsa

¹ A parallel from Egypt is provided by a group of four sandstone capitals from Thebes in the Cairo Museum. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, 7356. They are dated to the 'Arab' period.

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series. It hangs down almost vertically and assumes a variety of symmetrical forms as shown in Fig. 6 (a)–(c). The acanthus leaves of the Golden Gate once more offer the closest parallel (Fig. 6 (d)).

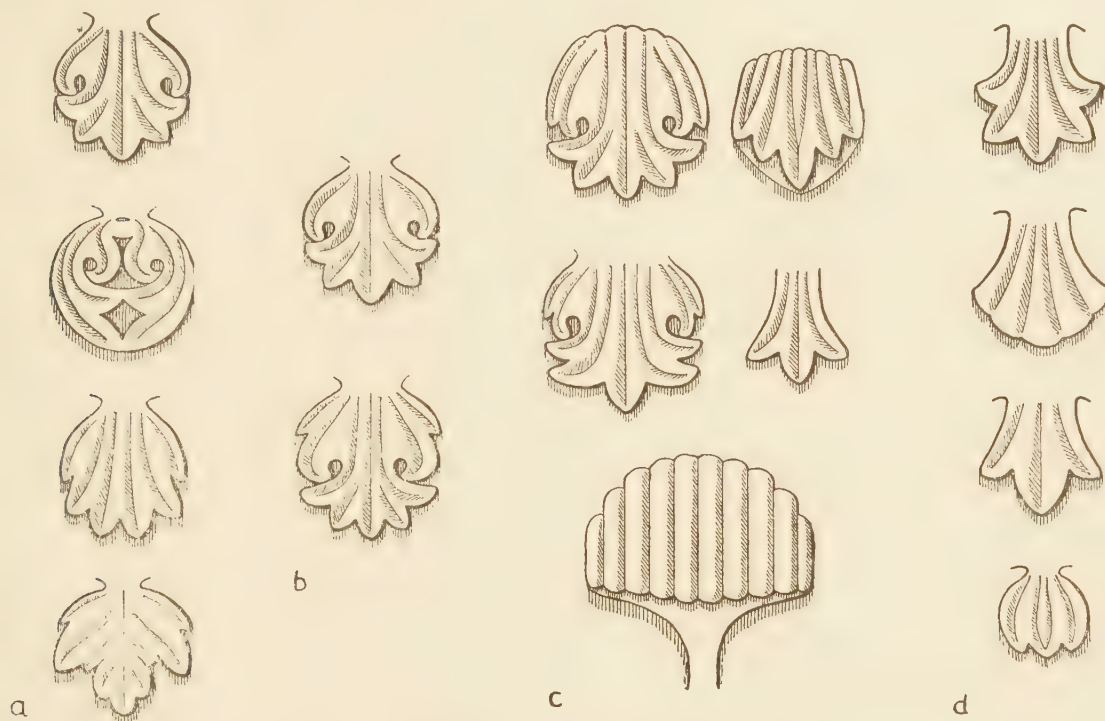


FIG. 6. Leaf-tip forms, a–c, Aqsa; d, Golden Gate

The last feature to be noted here is the ornamental collar at the base of each capital, which again appears in all three classes of the Aqsa series (Fig. 7 (a)–(c)) yet is sufficiently rare amongst Palestinian capitals to be regarded as a valid datum for comparison. These collars are up to 10 cm. high, not a mere beading or cord; in class B the same feature is used both at the base of the capital and to separate the upper and lower registers. Again it is to the Golden Gate and to the Muwaqqar series that we must look for the closest parallel; and a similar feature appears on some capitals used in the arcades at the southern end of the Aqsa.¹ The motifs used in each of these groups are shown in Fig. 7 (d)–(f).

Stylistic criteria are admittedly an uncertain basis for chronology, especially if unsupported by independent evidence. For this reason the points selected for comparison in the foregoing paragraphs have been restricted to a few clearly defined features which seemed to link our capitals in a tangible fashion with certain definite groups and to distinguish them as sharply from others. The argument is not weakened, but, if anything, strengthened by the relative unimportance of the details in themselves.

I think we may draw from the facts described two general conclusions, one positive, the other negative. The negative conclusion is that the Aqsa capitals have no place amongst the largest and most widespread class of capitals available for comparison in the country,

¹ Also on the so-called Theodosian type of capitals of which there are a few, probably imported, examples in the country. See Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, p. 150 and Pl. XXVII.

namely, those that were carved for the innumerable monastic buildings and churches that constituted, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, the characteristic field of architectural activity in Palestine. It is true that the Aqsa capitals have been attributed to the period of Justinian; but the comparison with Bethlehem is enough to show that our sculptors worked in an entirely different spirit from those engaged at Bethlehem, a spirit much farther removed from the tradition of classical design and ornament.

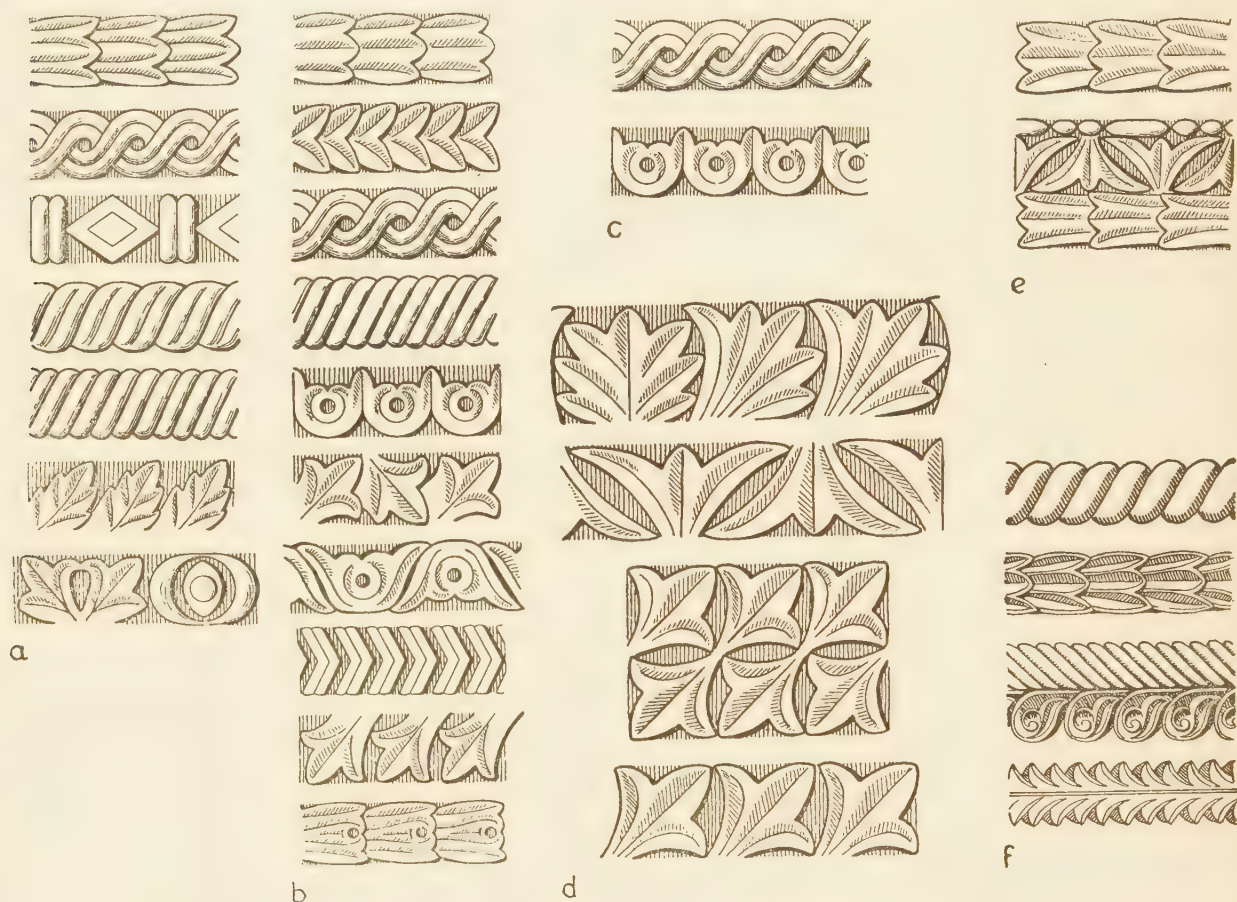


FIG. 7. Collar ornaments, *a-c*, Aqsa; *d*, Golden Gate; *e*, Aqsa, southern aisles; *f*, Al Muwaqqar

On the positive side, the monuments in which we have found analogies to our capitals belong to the centuries following that in which the church at Bethlehem was built; their builders had travelled far along the road that led away from classical models. While employing inherited forms and motifs they had lost all understanding of their original purpose. Examples of the misuse or degeneration of traditional ornaments in the decoration of the Golden Gate, at Kh. Mafjar and al Muwaqqar, no less than in the capitals of the Aqsa, are too obvious and too numerous to detail. The laboured archaism of those capitals in class C of the Aqsa which superficially conform to the conventional Corinthian pattern is as sure a proof of lateness as the more obvious mis-applications of classical motifs. The Aqsa capitals thus belong to a period of revival separated by an appreciable gap

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from the centuries of continuous architectural activity during which the principal Christian shrines of Palestine were built.

Two possible phases of building activity suggest themselves. Early in the seventh century, after a period of comparative inactivity in the field of architecture, a Persian army invaded Palestine and damaged or destroyed a large number of Christian buildings. In A.D. 628 the invaders were expelled and a period of reconstruction followed, giving renewed employment to Palestinian builders and sculptors. At the end of the century the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus began to command in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, as well as in Syria, the construction of substantial buildings, both secular and religious; and again craftsmanship flourished. It is to one or other of these phases of revived architectural activity that the capitals of the Aqsa would appear to belong. But to which of them, it needs more evidence than style alone to determine. Such evidence is to be found, I believe, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The Chapel of St. Helena, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is a small three-aisled building of Byzantine character, in which the central bay of the middle aisle is covered by a dome on pendentives carried by four monolithic columns. Pl. XXXIX A-C shows three of the capitals; the fourth, not here reproduced, closely resembles B on the plate. The lower registers of these capitals have been cut down to fit their columns, the decoration being sacrificed to this adjustment. It follows that the capitals were not made for their present positions. A glance will show that Pl. XXXIX B is identical in composition and detail with the basket type of the Aqsa class B.¹ Pl. XXXIX A, on the other hand, in design and in detail, resembles class A of the Aqsa, except that it has three instead of four rings of acanthus leaves; the reduction in the total number of registers is offset by a slight increase in the height of each, so that the total height of the capital is identical with those of the Aqsa, as are its dimensions on plan. The axes of the three tiers of leaves alternate regularly. The spaces between and outside the volutes are filled with the usual crudely improvised egg-and-tongue ornament.

The third capital of those shown (Pl. XXXIX c), with three rings of 16, 12, and 12 leaves respectively, and no volutes, is at present unparalleled in the Aqsa,² though the form of the leaves is not dissimilar.

In the north transept of the Church there is a fifth capital which repeats the pattern of Pl. XXXIX A in St. Helena's chapel.³ Its dimensions are given in the table on p. 120 below. It is clear that this, too, closely resembles in scale, design, and workmanship⁴ the capitals of class A in the Aqsa. Like those it rests on a column built up of semi-cylindrical drums; the diameter is 80 cm. Furthermore, the base on which this column stands is

¹ The fourth capital, not shown here, is the same as this. For the dimensions see the table at the end of this article.

² It remains to be seen whether the type is represented in the fourth arcade, still probably hidden in the western aisle. The closest parallel to this capital at present is the engaged half-capital from the Golden Gate shown in Pl. XXXIX, d.

³ See photographs in Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Pls. XVI and XVII.

⁴ Certain points of difference must, however, be recorded: (a) the midribs of all the acanthus leaves are outlined by deep grooves. This is contrary to the practice followed for class A in the Aqsa and in St. Helena's Chapel; (b) the leaves in profile show an S-shaped curve like a cyma moulding; (c) the 'eyes' at the main indentations are in certain cases underlined by short curved grooves or wrinkles, in the manner of many classical and medieval Corinthian capitals.

identical in profile with the Aqsa bases, though there are between all of them some variations in scale and execution (Fig. 2). In fact, with no more alteration than substituting a shallower drum for one of those provided, and adding the usual annulet to the bottom of the shaft, column, capital, and base might be exchanged with any one of those in the Aqsa.¹

Coupled with the fact that no other capitals of just this type are elsewhere recorded, these coincidences must be significant. But the coincidence goes farther: just as the Aqsa capitals were borrowed from some earlier context so were those in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Furthermore, if the commonly accepted view is correct that St. Helena's Chapel dates to the restoration of the church by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus, about 1047, then both sets of capitals were borrowed within a space of twelve years, since the Aqsa was rebuilt in or about 1035.

Is it too fanciful to suggest that the capitals of both groups were taken from a single building? To support that hypothesis we must find a building which satisfies four conditions: (*a*) it must have been in Christian possession, for Christians had equal access with Moslems to its ruins; (*b*) it must have been built in one of those architectural revivals of the seventh or eighth centuries which in our opinion explain the stylistic peculiarities of the capitals; (*c*) it was a large building with colonnades on a monumental scale; (*d*) it was destroyed or demolished before A.D. 1035.

There is, in fact, one building which satisfies all these conditions. Exactly twenty-five years before adh Dhahir's reconstruction of the Aqsa, his predecessor the eccentric Caliph al Hakim bi'Amr Illah, had ordered the demolition, amongst other Christian buildings, of the group of shrines which commemorated the Crucifixion and Resurrection.

This was not the first time that the famous Rotunda of the Resurrection and the Basilica of Constantine to the east of it had been destroyed: four centuries earlier they had suffered pillage at the hands of the Persians, and had been rebuilt, about A.D. 615-29, by direction of Modestus, Superior of the Monastery of St. Theodosius, then administering the Patriarchate in Jerusalem. The demolition of those churches under al Hakim would therefore have made available a supply of building materials of exactly the date and character required.

But there is one difficulty which must be considered. Almost immediately after the destruction of the churches, which took place in A.D. 1009-10, their reconstruction was provisionally approved; definite terms for the restoration were agreed upon by al Hakim's successor in a treaty with the Byzantine court dated A.D. 1027. How, then, could adh Dhahir, in 1035, have come into possession of the columns and capitals which would naturally have been required for the restoration he had himself sanctioned eight years before?

Naturally no certain answer can be given to that question, but there are three facts which may have a bearing on it. In the first place there were suspicious delays and pro-Christian capitals. Also some of the midribs have a vertical line of small drilled holes down their axes near the top. (This is almost obliterated by a thick layer of paint.) Both of these details appear in twelfth-century capitals but neither has been noticed on any of the Aqsa capitals or in those of St. Helena's Chapel. We must therefore recognize the possibility that the capital in the north transept was carved in the eleventh or twelfth century, in imitation of those used in St. Helena's Chapel.

¹ As it stands the column shaft is 4.16 m. high, the shafts in the Aqsa being 3.75 m.

longed negotiations in connexion with the rebuilding of the churches. Adh Dhahir's original agreement had to be renewed years later by his successor the Caliph al Mustansir, and it was not till A.D. 1047 that the restoration was finally accomplished. The second fact is that in the interval between 1027 and 1047 an earthquake had shaken down parts of the Aqsa, as well as a portion of the city wall in the Haram ash Sharif, and this may well have given a fresh and less favourable turn to the negotiations. Finally, and this is indeed remarkable, when all had been said and done the largest of the churches for one reason or another was never rebuilt at all!

Ever since the time of Constantine, the Basilica or Martyrium, which occupied the eastern position in the architectural group, had shared with the Rotunda of the Resurrection the highest veneration of Christendom. In the scheme of restoration by Modestus, it was rebuilt on a scale of magnificence almost worthy of its predecessor; it still passed, with most spectators, as the very edifice of Constantine himself. It is surely strange that this great and venerable shrine should have been omitted by the builders of the eleventh century from their plans for reconstruction. One reason, I suggest, was that the greater part of the dismantled fabric, including most of the columns and capitals, had been appropriated, during the prolonged negotiations, for the reconstruction of the Aqsa. Why some were left behind we cannot guess; but we may easily suppose that five odd capitals, and a few drums and bases, remained amongst the ruins to be used later in the other churches. The site of the basilica remained derelict, and was so described by an anonymous writer in the early twelfth century: 'A little further is the place called Calvary, where the wood of the Cross was found by Helena the Blessed . . . and where was founded by the same Queen a church of wondrous magnitude and workmanship, afterwards destroyed by the perfidious gentiles. The ruins which still exist there attest the quality of the work.'¹

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Postscript. Not to give the impression that the foregoing hypothesis as to the origin of the Aqsa capitals is offered as anything more than a possible conjecture, it is right to add that the presence of capitals of this type in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre might also be explained by accepting a date in the twelfth century for St. Helena's Chapel and supposing that the Crusaders themselves brought the capitals there from the Aqsa during their occupation of the Haram ash Sharif; there are, in fact, grounds for believing that one of the eleventh-century arcades of the Aqsa was demolished during their occupation to make room for a new series of vaults built on the site of the eastern aisles.²

On this alternative hypothesis we should have the choice of either leaving the origin of the capitals an unsolved mystery; or, alternatively, supposing them to have been carved as well as erected by the eleventh-century builders of the Caliph adh Dhahir. The presence of the scrap material at positions 7 and 11 in the nave would then be unexplained.

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¹ *Gesta Francorum expugnantium Hierusalem*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 573. Quoted from Williams, *Holy City*, Vol. II, p. 275.

² One out of the six columns was left in position. It was composed of unmatched materials like columns 7 and 11. It is hoped to publish in a future report the facts bearing on this and other episodes in the history of the Aqsa, which came to light during the recent renovation of the Mosque.

R. W. HAMILTON

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS

CLASS A

	<i>Side of abacus</i>	<i>Diameter at base</i>	<i>Depth of abacus</i>	<i>Height, excluding collar</i>	<i>Height, including collar</i>
Column 14 . . .	110	86	8	100	..
„ 15 . . .	114	87	8	100	105
„ 18 . . .	110	86	8	103	..
„ 19 . . .	..	..	..	..	..
„ 22 . . .	117	87	8	103	..
„ 23 . . .	116	86	8	92	97
„ 26 . . .	111	86	7	98	..
„ 27 . . .	118	86	8	94	99
St. Helena's Chapel, A .	110	..	11	92	..
North Transept . . .	110	81	10	104	112

CLASS B

Column 5 . . .	110	86	2	86	93
„ 9 . . .	111	86	6	90	..
„ 13 . . .	110	86	6	90	96
„ 17 . . .	110	86	6	92	..
„ 21 . . .	109	86	6	101	..
„ 25 . . .	100	86	7	91	..
St. Helena's Chapel } B .	110	..	11	102	..
„ „ } .	113	..	10	105	..

CLASS C

Column 6 . . .	142	84	16	121	..
„ 10 . . .	144	86	16	97	..
Pilaster 1 . . .	138	74 + width	15	123	..
„ 2 . . .	138	86 „	15	121	..
„ 3 . . .	142	86 „	15	115	..

THE ARABIC MINTS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

THE caliphs and their provincial governors minted their coins not only in the state and provincial capitals but also in other and sometimes insignificant towns of the territories under their jurisdiction. Thus it can be ascertained from the coins of the period that the Arabs established a number of mints in the provinces covering the regions included within the present boundaries of Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

In the early days of the Arab rule the coins of the realm were Arabic imitations of current Byzantine *folles* struck at various mint-centres. So far as can be deduced from this type of Arabic coinage, there were six¹ of these centres in the two territories: at Beisan,² Tabariya (Tiberias),³ Ailiya (Jerusalem),⁴ Beit Jibrin,⁵ 'Amman, and Filastin.⁶

The same mints in both countries continued to be employed by the Umayyads during the few years that preceded the introduction of a coinage of purely Moslem types. But after the great monetary reform of 'Abd el-Malik in A.H. 76 no less than nine⁷ additional

¹ Caesarea has not been included in the present list of Arabic mints for the following reason: Lavoix's attribution of a unique specimen bearing this mint-name in Greek (cf. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque nationale, Khalifes orientaux*, Paris 1887, p. 11) is doubtful. It has been contested by R. Cotteville-Giraudet in *Revue numismatique*, 1934, p. 218, who considered it a Byzantine coin of Tiberius II Constantius. A. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash*, 1928-34 (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 81), 1938, p. 141, on the other hand, re-attributed the coin to the Moslem mint of Caesarea in Palestine. There seems, however, to be no strong reason for considering the coin in question as emanating from a Moslem mint.

² On the few specimens which have been found the name is engraved without an 'alif after the *sin* (يسن). A. R. Bellinger, *op. cit.*, p. 18, assigns the date of issue to the two or three years following the capitulation of the town.

³ It is worthy of note that the phrase الطبرية التقي frequently met with in Arabic sources means coins struck not in Tiberias but in Tabaristan.

⁴ On some specimens the mint-name is written backwards, e.g. نيطلة ليذا, see *PAM*, Nos. I. 18, 19.

⁵ A coin of this mint is published by E. Zambaur, 'Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale', *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1914, p. 115. One specimen exists in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

⁶ It was not unusual for Arab rulers to mark coins of a capital of a province with the name of that province. Ludd, until the founding of er Ramla, was the capital of Palestine with Jerusalem second in place. Possibly coins marked فلسطين emanated first from Ludd and after A.H. 91 from er Ramla. For an unexplained reason F. Soret, *Éléments de la numismatique musulmane*, Geneva, 1868, p. 121, followed by J. Karabacek, 'Die angeblichen AEO-Münzen arabischer Prägung', *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1870, p. 58, supposes that Jerusalem is here meant. Filastin is also found on coins as a suffix to other mint-names, e.g. لد فلسطين غزة فلسطين وعسقلان فلسطين. وأيليا فلسطين.

⁷ Excluding الشامية, according to S. Lane-Poole's reading (*Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 22, and *Catalogue of the Collection of Oriental Coins belonging to Col. C. Seton Guthrie*, Hertford, 1874, p. 22), or السامية as read by H. Lavoix (*op. cit.*, p. 131) and others, which appears on the dirhem of A.H. 131, and is explained by E. Leggett (*Notes on the Mint-Towns and Coins of the Mohamedans*, London, 1885, p. 82) and O. Codrington (*A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London, 1904, pp. 161, 166) as a place in Palestine. F. Soret (*op. cit.*, p. 116) refers to it as a place-name in Syria. One of the considerations which lead one to reject these conjectures is that silver or gold coins were never struck by the Umayyads in either Palestine or Trans-Jordan. Perhaps a better hypothesis is that advocated by certain numismatists who remark that the correct spelling is السامية and identify it with سامية mentioned in Muqaddasī (أحسن التقاسيم, ed. de Goeje, p. 114) as one of the cities of the district of Wasit in 'Iraq. See I. Karabacek and O. Blau, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1876, pp. 353-4 and 1877, pp. 272-3.

mints can be identified, viz. 'Akka,¹ Saffuriya, Ludd, er Ramla, Ghazza, Yibna,² 'Asqalan,³ el 'Al (but cf. p. 124, n. 1), and el Urdun.⁴ The Umayyad coinage from these mints is all in bronze.

During the 'Abbasid caliphate more than half the Palestinian and Trans-Jordanian mints ceased production. el Quds,⁵ er Ramla and Filastin, Tabariya and 'Amman—as compared with the fifteen mints of the Umayyads—are the only mint-names that have been preserved.⁶

Under the Fatimid domination only five mints are so far known to have been operating, viz. at 'Akka, Tabariya, Aylah ('Aqaba), 'Asqalan,⁷ and Filastin. The coins struck in the first four mints occur in gold only. Silver and gold coins came from the mint of Filastin.

A fairly long series of dated dinars and dirhems of the 'Abbasids, the Tulunids, the Hamdanids, the Ikhshidis, the Carmathians, and the Fatimids bear the name of 'Filastin'. But apart from this, there are few published specimens, emanating from the other mints. We know of no more than a unique *fil*s of the year A.H. 217 from el Quds,⁸ three 'Abbasid bronze coins from er Ramla, four Buwaihid dinars from 'Amman, a few dinars and dirhems from Tabariya, some half-dozen Fatimid dinars from 'Akka, four rare dinars, struck between the years A.H. 503 and 510, from 'Asqalan and one dinar of A.H. 514 from Aylah. The varieties, too, of these coins are very limited.

After the overthrow of the Fatimids, money does not appear to have been coined in Palestine or Trans-Jordan, for no coin from these two countries of a date subsequent to this event has yet been discovered.⁹

None of the above mints is mentioned in the literary records of the Arabs; and save for the evidence of the coins themselves we should have remained wholly ignorant of their existence.

Therefore, the basis of the present survey is primarily the published catalogues of Oriental collections, the numismatic periodicals, unpublished Arabic coins belonging to the Palestine Archaeological Museum, to the Department of Antiquities at 'Amman, to the Museum of the Flagellation Convent in Jerusalem, to the Museum of Notre Dame de France in Jerusalem, to the École biblique et archéologique française, St. Stephen's Convent, Jerusalem, and to the Museum of St. Anne's Convent, Jerusalem.¹⁰

¹ عكا or عكة. Both forms are used on the coins. See H. Lavoix, *op. cit.*, pp. 394, 395.

² يبنى on the coins.

³ عسقلان without an 'alif on the Umayyad coins. See Bellinger, *op. cit.*, p. 126 and H. Lavoix, *ibid.*, p. 394.

⁴ Probably in the mint of its capital, Tabariya.

⁵ See n. 8 below.

⁶ O. Codrington, *op. cit.*, gives the names of Beit Jibrin, Saffuriya, 'Asqalan, and Ghazza as 'Abbasid mint-places. F. Soret, *op. cit.*, p. 126 adds the name of Ludd and alludes to an unedited coin with this name upon it. I have searched for the name of any of these places on published 'Abbasid coins, but in vain.

⁷ On certain specimens with ك (عسكلان) instead of ق but this is undoubtedly an engraver's error.

⁸ This is the first conclusive evidence of the use of the form of el Quds by the Arabs for Jerusalem, as early as A.D. 832.

⁹ الرما on the coin of the Ayyubid Sultan el 'Adil published by Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1823, p. 232, is, I believe, a misreading for الرها (Edessa) which was an Ayyubid mint-place. It does not stand for er Ram or any other place in Palestine as Ali Pasha Mubarak, الخطط التوفيقية Cairo, A.H. 1306, part XX, p. 22, and F. Soret, *op. cit.*, p. 111 thought.

¹⁰ My special thanks are due to Prof. L. A. Mayer for his kindness in reading and revising my manuscript and in making valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to the Rev. Fathers B. Bagatti and A. Battista, O.F.M.,

ARABIC MINTS, PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

Throughout the following index only one example of each type is given, though various specimens of the same coin may exist elsewhere. The numbers in the reference column denote the pages of the relative publications, or, in the case of unpublished coins, the inventory number of the collection.

N. G. NASSAR

ABBREVIATIONS

- B.—A. R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 81). New York, 1938.
 C.—J. Østrup, *Catalogue des monnaies arabes et turques du Cabinet Royal des Médailles du Musée national de Copenhague*, Copenhagen, 1938.
 BM.—Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1875–90.
 F.—Ch. M. Fraehn, *Nova Supplementa ad Recensionem Numorum Muhammedanorum*, &c., Petropoli, 1855.
 Gh.—مسكوكات قديمة اسلامية قتالوغي . اسماعيل غالب, Constantinople, A.H. 1312.
 Kh.—Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Collection of Arabic Coins Preserved in the Khedivial Library at Cairo*, London, 1897.
 L.—H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1887, 1896.
 M.—A. Markov, *Catalogue of Muhammedan Coins in the Ermitage* (in Russian), Petersburg, 1896.
 NC.—*Numismatic Chronicle*.
 NZ.—*Numismatische Zeitschrift*.
 PAM.—Unpublished coins in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.
 RN.—*Revue numismatique*.
 TJ.—Unpublished coins in the Department of Antiquities, 'Amman.
 St.—Unpublished coins in the Museum of St. Anne's Convent, Jerusalem.
 ZDMG.—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

INDEX OF ARABIC MINTS IN PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

<i>Mint</i>	<i>A.H.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Prince</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ailiya (Jerusalem) إيليا	..	Æ	Early Moslem ¹	..	BM. IX. 10
	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	L. 360 ² See also el Quds below
'Akka (Acre) عكا	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	L. 394
	462	ʿ	Fatimid	el Mustansir	L. 133
	463	ʿ	"	"	BM. IV. 43
	466	ʿ	"	"	C. 224
	473	ʿ	"	"	C. 224
	474	ʿ	"	"	Kh. 182
	484	ʿ	"	"	Kh. 183 & M. 352, No. 107
	487	ʿ	"	"	L. 133
	490	ʿ	"	el Mustali	C. 225
	495	ʿ	"	"	L. 154

of the Flagellation Convent, to the Rev. Père Mamert of Notre Dame de France, to the Rev. Père de Vaux, Director of the École biblique et archéologique française, to the Rev. Père N. Van der Vliet of St. Anne's Convent, for their courtesy in allowing me to examine the collections of Arabic coins in the above mentioned cabinets.

¹ Early Moslem means coins struck before the monetary reform of 'Abd el Malik.

² An interesting specimen with a duck within a circle on the obverse and إيليا on reverse area is illustrated by Stickel in ZDMG, 1889, p. 698.

<i>Mint</i>	A.H.	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Prince</i>	<i>Reference</i>
el 'Al ¹ العال	97	Æ	Umayyad	Suleiman	M. 6, No. 146
'Amman ² عمان	..	Æ	Early Moslem	..	BM. IX. 12
	..	Æ	"	'Abd el Malik	BM. IX. 16
	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	BM. I. 184
	362	AV	Buwayhid	'Aḍud ed Dawlah	BM. IX. 260
	364	AV	"	el Marzubān	Gh. 352
	367	AV	"	'Aḍud ed Dawlah	BM. II. 206
	386	AV	"	Sasam ed Dawlah	BM. II. 212
'Asqalan (Ascalon) عسقلان	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	L. 394
	503	AV	Fatimid	el 'Amir	BM. IV. 51
	506	AV	"	"	Kh. 189
	507	AV	"	"	L. 157
	510	AV	"	"	NC. XIX (1899), 267
'Aylah ('Aqaba) ايلة	314	AV	"	"	L. 161, 558 ³
Beisan بيسان	..	Æ	Early Moslem	..	B. 122
	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	B. 128
Beit Jibrin بيت جبرين	..	Æ	Early Moslem	..	NZ. XLVII (1914), 115
	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	PAM. No. I. 144g
Filastin (Palestine) فلسطين	..	Æ	Early Moslem	..	L. 16
	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	PAM. No. I. 211
	264	AV on Æ	'Abbasid	el Mu'tamid	TJ. No. A.A. 36
	277	AV	Tulunid	Khumarawayh	L. 11
	277	Æ	'Abbasid	el Mu'tamid	PAM. No. H. 19. 2
	278	AV	Tulunid	Khumarawayh	L. 11
	285	AV	"	Harūn	BM. II. 67
	290	AV	"	"	Kh. 141
	291	AV	'Abbasid	el Muktafi	NC. I (1921), 324
	293	AV	"	"	NC. I (1921), 324
	293	Æ	"	"	PAM. No. II. 21
	295	AV	"	"	NC. I (1921), 324
	295	AV	"	el Muqtadir	L. 283
	296	AV	"	"	BM. I. 142
	297	AV	"	"	M. 50, No. 923
	298	AV	"	"	BM. I. 143
	301	AV	"	"	Kh. 91
	304	AV	"	"	PAM. No. II. 27a
	305	AV	"	"	BM. IX. 76
	306	AV	"	"	BM. IX. 76

¹ This mint-name is also mentioned in E. Leggett, *op. cit.*, p. 170 and O. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 1. In my opinion this is probably a misreading for the word العال if the reading with the article ال is correct.

² The mint-name عمان on the dirhem of the year A.H. 317 published by H. Porter ('Unpublished Coins of the Caliphate', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. I, 1921, p. 326) stands for 'Oman and not 'Amman. This is proved by the name يوسف بن وجيه beneath the obverse area of the coin. Yusuf b. Wajih was the ruler of 'Oman and not 'Amman as Porter read it in the *Annals of Abu-l-Fida*. See Ibn Miskawaihi, *تجارب الامم*, ed. and trs. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 337, 350; Vol. II, pp. 46, 143, 217.

³ The reading of the mint-name is doubtful.

ARABIC MINTS, PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

<i>Mint</i>	<i>A. H.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Prince</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Filastin (<i>continued</i>)	307	<i>A</i>	'Abbasid	el Muqtadir	<i>Kh.</i> 92
	310	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> I. 143
	311	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 325
	312	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> I. 143
	313	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 325
	314	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> I. (1921), 325
	317	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>L.</i> 283
	317	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 4
	318	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 325
	319	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 325
	320	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IX. 79
	322	<i>A</i>	"	er Radi	<i>PAM.</i> No. II. 50
	323?	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. II. 57
	325	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>M.</i> 55, No. 1060
	..5	<i>AR</i>	Hamdanid	Nasir and Seif ed Dawlah	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 69
	329	<i>A</i>	'Abbasid	er Radi	<i>BM.</i> I. 153
	331	<i>AR</i>	Hamdanid	Nasir and Seif ed Dawlah	<i>BM.</i> III. 5
	331	<i>AR</i>	Ikhshidid	Muhammad	<i>PAM.</i> No. III. 12
	332	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IX. 174
	332	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. III. 13
	333	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> II. 68
	334?	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 15
	3..	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. III. 14
	335	<i>A</i>	"	Abul-Qasim	<i>BM.</i> IX. 174
	337	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> II. 69
	337	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>L.</i> 25
	341	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 144
	345	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> II. 69
	346	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 144
	347	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>L.</i> 25
	3..	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 144
	350	<i>A</i>	"	'Ali	<i>L.</i> 26
	350	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 29
	351	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>L.</i> 27
	353	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> II. 70
	353?	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> II. 71
	35..	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>C.</i> 118
	355	<i>A</i>	'Abbasid	el Muti'	<i>L.</i> 321
	355	<i>AR</i>	Ikhshidid	Kafur	<i>BM.</i> II. 71
	355	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 40
	357	<i>AR</i>	"	Ahmad	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 42
	358	<i>A</i>	"	"	<i>L.</i> 28
	358	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 43
	358	<i>AR</i>	Qarmatid	Salih	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 55
	359	<i>A</i>	Fatimid	el Mu'izz	<i>L.</i> 47
	359	<i>A</i>	Uncertain	el Hasan b-'Ubeidallah	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 329
	359	<i>A</i>	Fatimid	el Mu'izz	<i>M.</i> 349, No. 13
	359	<i>AR</i>	"	"	<i>PAM.</i> No. H. 19. 70
	361	<i>A</i>	Qarmatid	el Hasan b. Ahmad	<i>Kh.</i> 337

<i>Mint</i>	<i>A.H.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Prince</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Filastin (<i>continued</i>)	362	<i>A'</i>	Qarmatid	el Hasan b. Ahmad	<i>Kh.</i> 337
	363	<i>Æ</i>	Fatimid	el Mu'izz	PAM. No. XIVA. 7
	364	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 12
	365	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>ZDMG.</i> (1857), 45 ¹
	367	<i>A'</i>	"	el 'Azīz	PAM. No. XIVA. 9
	368	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>F.</i> 81
	369	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 15
	369	<i>Æ</i>	"	"	PAM. XIVA. 12 ^k
	371	<i>A'</i>	"	"	PAM. No. XIVA. 10
	373	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>NZ.</i> VIII (1876), 68
	376	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 15
	383	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 16
	399	<i>A'</i>	"	el Hakim	<i>Kh.</i> 164
	404	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>NC.</i> V (1885), 232
	412	<i>A'</i>	"	edh Dhahir	<i>NC.</i> XIX (1899), 267
	420	<i>A'</i>	"	"	PAM. No. XIVA. 23
	423	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 30
	428	<i>A'</i>	"	el Mustansir	<i>Kh.</i> 174
	435	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 34
	436	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 218
	438	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 177
	439	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IX. 322
	442	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>BM.</i> IV. 37
	444	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 179
	445	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>RN.</i> XXXVIII (1935), 202
	447	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 189
	?	<i>A'</i>	"	"	<i>Kh.</i> 183
Ghazza (Gaza) غزة	..	<i>Æ</i>	Umayyad	..	<i>L.</i> 396
Ludd (Lydda) لد	..	<i>Æ</i>	"	..	<i>L.</i> 401
el Quds (Jerusalem) القدس	217	<i>Æ</i>	'Abbasid	el Ma'mūn	PAM. No. II. 80
er Ramla الرملة	..	<i>Æ</i>	Umayyad	..	<i>L.</i> 380
	101	<i>Æ</i>	"	Yazid II	<i>L.</i> 385-6 ¹
	217	<i>Æ</i>	'Abbasid	el Ma'mūn	<i>L.</i> 435
	218	<i>Æ</i>	"	"	<i>St. No.</i> 163
	..	<i>Æ</i>	"	Sa'id b. Sorh ²	<i>L.</i> 436
Saffuriya صفورية	..	<i>Æ</i>	Umayyad	..	<i>L.</i> 388
Ṭabariya (Tiberias) طبرية	..	<i>Æ</i>	Early Moslem	..	<i>BM.</i> IX. 8
	..	<i>Æ</i>	Umayyad	..	<i>BM.</i> I. 183
	110	<i>Æ</i>	"	Hisham	<i>ZDMG.</i> (1889), 699
	120	<i>Æ</i>	"	"	<i>NZ.</i> XXXVI (1904), 44
	319	$\frac{1}{2}$ <i>A'</i>	'Abbasid	el Muqtadir	<i>NC.</i> I (1921), 325
	323	<i>A'</i>	"	er Radi	<i>L.</i> 307

¹ Mintless, but attributed by Lavoix to er Ramla on ground of style.² Governor of er Ramla in A.H. 205.

ARABIC MINTS, PALESTINE AND TRANS-JORDAN

<i>Mint</i>	<i>A.H.</i>	<i>Metal</i>	<i>Dynasty</i>	<i>Prince</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Ṭabariya (<i>continued</i>)	329	AR	'Abbasid	el Muttaqi	ZDMG. (1857), 451
	330	AR	"	"	PAM. No. II. 67
	335	AR	Ikhshidid	Abul-Qasim	PAM. No. III. 20
	337	AR	"	"	PAM. No. III. 22
	338	AR	"	"	PAM. No. III. 23
	300	AR	"	"	PAM. No. III. 25
	395	AV	Fatimid	el Hakim	L. 70
	436	AV	"	el Mustansir	BM. IV. 35
	439	AV	"	"	L. 129
	460	AV	"	"	L. 130
el 'Urdun (Jordan) الأردن	..	Æ	Umayyad	..	L. 354
Yibna يبنا	..	Æ	"	..	L. 407

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN THE ART OF PALESTINE IN THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS, II¹ *

C. 1. *Animal Ornament*

PORTRAYAL of animal life was the first and one of the most interesting expressions of man's aesthetic impulse.² This general statement is nowhere perhaps truer than in the Near East, where a well-defined animal style developed simultaneously with the beginnings of civilization.³ In the course of its evolution the usual Oriental elements of symbolism and stylization were augmented by a realism uncommon in Eastern art. The human likeness was in the Orient never completely emancipated from certain conventions,⁴ but the artists of the riper Eastern cultures, such as the Assyrian in its prime, attained in their delineations of individual animals a high degree of naturalism.⁵ They also solved the main problems in the ornamental composition of scenes wholly composed of animals.

In doing so, however, they added to the difficulty of distinguishing—in later periods and among a clash of conflicting styles—what is due to the East and what to the West. This is especially true as regards composition. Although Assyrian realism at its best remains unsurpassed, it represents but the acme of Oriental animal style. The bulk of animal ornament (as far as single subjects are considered) is still sufficiently governed by the principle of stylization and thus may be distinguished more or less easily. The difficulty is far greater as regards the composition of animal subjects. There is no other kind of ornament in which the Greeks were to such an extent indebted to their Asiatic teachers. Asiatic artists had evolved a compositional pattern for every shape of field and the solution adopted was in all cases completely satisfactory to the high demands of Greek aesthetics. If the area was a triangle, the 'heraldic pattern' was adopted, consisting of two animals grouped round a sacred tree—either in *affrontage* or in *adossage*. If the space to be filled was long and narrow, the solution was the (originally hieratic) procession of animals. As the Greeks usually restricted animal ornament to the filling of corners or to border decoration, these two schemes solved practically every requirement. The eastern framework continued to govern Greek art in its Hellenistic and Roman transformation and as such it returned eastwards after 333 B.C.

Of the three usual criteria of Oriental influence on composition, viz. symmetry, repetition, and *horror vacui*, we may rely on the third only. Among the few Palestinian examples of this kind is the Mausoleum frieze from Beit She'arim⁶ (Pl. XL, 1) of the

¹ Continued from *QDAP*, Vol. X, pp. 105–51. The drawings in this part of the article (except Figs. 2–4, 8, and 10) are the work of Mrs. Th. Ettinger, Jerusalem.

² Pope and Ackerman in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I, p. 299. This chapter contains by far the best exposition of the principles of Oriental animal style.

³ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in S. Russia and China*, Princeton, 1929, pp. 3–9.

⁴ *QDAP*, Vol. X, pp. 112–14.

⁵ Animals are better observed than men in all primitive art, cf. Riegl, *St.*, p. 21.

⁶ Maisler, *Excavations at Beth-Shearim*, 1940; title-page.

third century A.D. The fragment illustrated represents four wolves engaged in furious combat. The prototype of the scene was undoubtedly circular, on the lines of the animal 'symphony' as represented in the mace-head of Tello¹ where six lions form an endless chain, each one attacking its predecessor. In the Beit She'arim relief too the beasts form an endless chain arranged in a circle; but the circular composition is somewhat distorted

¹ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in S. Russia and China*, p. 11, n. 8; *Eph.*, Vol. I, p. 176.

* The following abbreviations have been used in the second part of this article:

- AAES—Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899/1900.
 AR—Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, Vols. I–II, London, 1896–9.
 AS—E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (Schweich Lectures, 1930), London, 1934.
 BA—*Id.*, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem, 1932.
 BD—R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg, 1904–9. 3 vols.
 Cont.—G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1931. 3 vols.
 Creswell—K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, 1940.
 Danth.—H. Danthine, *Le Palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés*, Paris, 1937.
 DE—*Excavations at Dura Europos*, Reports I–VIII.
 DPPA—M. Rostovtzeff, 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art' (in *Yale Classical Studies*, Vol. V, 1935, pp. 157–304).
 Drioton—E. Drioton, 'Art syrien et art copte' (in *Bulletin de l'association des amis de l'art copte*, Vol. III, 1937, pp. 29–40).
 Dunand, *Musée*—M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueida*, Paris, 1934.
 Dussaud, *Mon.*—R. Dussaud, *Les Monuments palestiniens et judaïques. Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1912.
 Dussaud, *Not.*—*Ibid.*, *Notes de mythologie syrienne*. Paris, 1905.
 EAO—Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1895–7.
 ECP—J. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (Schweich Lectures, 1937), London, 1941.
 EIP—F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898–1900*, London, 1902.
 Eph.—*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Paris, 1935–8.
 FDE—F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–3)*, Paris, 1926.
 Gezer—R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vols. I–III, London, 1912.
 KW—H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galiläa*, Leipzig, 1916.
 Lassus—J. Lassus, *Inventaire archéologique de la région au N.E. de Hama*, Damas, 1936.
 MDP—*Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Perse*, Vols. I–XXVIII, Paris, 1900–39.
 Mendel—G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures, Musées impériaux ottomans*, Constantinople, 1912–14.
 Moort.—A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, Berlin, 1932.
 Orfali—G. Orfali, *Capharnaüm et ses ruines*, Paris, 1922.
 PAES—Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, 1904–5, 1909.
 PEFA—Palestine Exploration Fund, Annual, Vols. I–V.
 Pope—A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, London, 1938–9.
 Qobes—Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 1934.
 RAO—Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Vols. I–VIII, Paris, 1888–1924.
 RAP—Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (Schweich Lectures, 1925), London, 1930.
 Reifenberg, *Denkm.*—A. Reifenberg, *Denkmäler der jüdischen Antike*, Berlin, 1937.
 Renan—E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris, 1874.
 Riegl, *St.*—A. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin, 1893.
 Schäfer—H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1922.
 SEP—*Survey of Eastern Palestine*, Vol. I, London, 1889.
 SWP—*Survey of Western Palestine*, Vols. I–III, London, 1883.
 Vogüé—M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale, Architecture*, Paris, 1865–77.
 Watz.—C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, Vols. I–II, Leipzig, 1933, 1935.
 Wiegand—Th. Wiegand, *Sinai*, Berlin, 1920.
 and the usual abbreviation of titles of periodicals.

by the necessity of fitting into the elongated frieze of an arch.¹ The stylization of the single animals in this frieze is dealt with below;² here it is enough to note how the background is almost eliminated by the struggling, intertwined mass of bodies. From the purely aesthetic point of view the pattern is highly satisfactory and as a representation of 'nature in the raw' it could hardly be bettered. It is, however, quite beyond the pale of classical art. Indeed, it appears doubtful if this type of composition belongs at all to the Near East. Prima facie its nearest relationship is the animal art of the steppes, which has recently attracted considerable attention.³ Here only can we find such struggling masses of bodies, chaotic at first sight, but which on closer scrutiny dissolve themselves into a conventional pattern.⁴ We may note this frieze as an example of un-Greek influences, without insisting on the origin of this art, whether an eastern or a northern one.⁵

Another case of *horror vacui* is the Shefa 'Amr tomb of the sixth or seventh century A.D.⁶ Here the arched entrance is decorated by a stylized grape trellis, but on the side walls is



FIG. 1

represented a confusion of animal forms, distributed over the surface without the appearance of a plan, with only the apparent aim of avoiding empty spaces of any considerable size (Fig. 1).

¹ Such contrasts betray an underlying conflict of styles, see *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 112. ² See below, p. 140.

³ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*; G. Borovka, *Scythian Art*, London, 1928; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, London, 1913; K. Schefold, *Eurasia Sept. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 3-78.

⁴ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Pls. XVIII, 1; XXV, 1; Borovka, Pls. 51, 52A, 70A, and especially Minns, p. 168, Fig. 57. Other examples of similar kind, all from the same region, are: the Maikop vase (Tallgren, *Antiquity*, Vol. VII, p. 199, and *Eurasia Sept. Ant.*, Vol. VII, 1932, p. 17); the Crimean buckle published by Rostovtzeff (*Aréthuse*, Vol. I, p. 88); the Craiova find with a triquetra of stylized horse (? more likely wolves') heads (Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. Hellenistic World*, Vol. I, Pl. XVIa).

⁵ Tentatively one may suggest two ways of transmission of elements of steppe art to Palestine: (1) Indirectly through the Assyrians. The Scythian influences in Assyrian culture have been noted by Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style*, p. 14, n. 14. Cf. especially the wolf-head on a bone staff-top, *ibid.*, Pl. II, 5. (2) A direct connexion could be established if there is any ethnic meaning to the Greek name of Scythopolis for Beth-Shan. Beth-Shan and Beth-She'arim are only 40 km. distant. For the figurine of a 'Scythian' found at Beisan, see *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 123; for a fur-cap (possibly of Central Asiatic origin) on a Palestinian figurine, *ibid.*, p. 127.

⁶ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 136, n. 4.

One further instance of a revival of Oriental preferences may be found in an unexpected direction, viz. a lack of symmetry in the 'heraldic' group of animals. In various synagogue panels and mosaics¹ the animals (usually a lion and a bull) (Pl. XL, 2) are selected for their symbolic value, regardless of the requirements of rigid symmetrical composition. Here is an apparent exception to the rule that the Orient stands for conventional symmetry and classical art for free composition. The reason is that in the Orient, where the virtue of the representation was in its symbol, different animals were used in antithetic attitudes as often as similar ones. Since each animal symbolized a different god, the value of the symbol increased with the number of gods whose protection was invoked. The Greeks borrowed the pattern, but not the symbol, and hence preferred a symmetrical composition as the more satisfactory aesthetically. With the revival of interest in the metaphysical meaning of the animals represented, the old Oriental differentiation revived too. Of course, the meaning of the symbols as used in Jewish monuments had changed by the elimination of all polytheistic values. For these were substituted values derived from Haggadic legends.

On the whole, however, we have to direct our inquiry after Oriental elements to the representation of individual animals. Such inquiry has to be pursued in two directions: (1) the general trend of animal ornament in the Ancient East as first observed in pottery painting which exercised a strong influence on later art in different media; (2) the survivals of Orientalism, as expressed either (*a*) in the selection of features most expressive of the quality the artist intended to import (this in turn leading to exaggeration of such features to the detriment of others); or (*b*) to the stylization of details with a view of obtaining the maximum ornamental effect compatible with the integrity of the subject. In some cases both varieties of Oriental influence are combined, the stylization serving as the means for bringing out the features stressed.

1. The basic Oriental type of animal ornament can be traced ultimately back to the animal style of Susa I and II.² These Susan artists were, as far as one can judge at present, the first to elaborate several of the conventions which remained valid in later Oriental art: the bodies were drawn in pure profile and formed a solid mass.³ Lines stylized according to a geometrical pattern formed the extremities or such excrescences as horns, &c. In the course of time this geometric tendency became stronger and ultimately the natural forms were dissolved into abstract geometrical patterns. The basic elements of this style reappear in Palestine in the painted pottery of the Bronze and Iron Age.

This is not the place to discuss Canaanite and Israelite painted pottery and a few references may suffice.⁴ The Iron Age continuation of the vigorous, but unaesthetic

¹ e.g. at Summaqa, Ronzevalle *MFOB*, Vol. IV, Pl. IX, 11, and p. 185, Fig. 12; at Beth Alpha, *BA*, Pl. XXII.

² Pottier, *MDP*, Vol. XIII, especially pp. 5, 6, and 9. The connexion between these two styles has been doubted by Frankfort, *Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East*, I. For our purpose, however, this point is immaterial, as proved filiation to Susa II would also suffice. The link between Susa and Palestinian painted pottery is pointed out by Pottier himself, *MDP*, Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80. Cf. Cont., pp. 285, 413, 662 f.

³ For the exceptions to this statement see below, p. 135 f.

⁴ L. H. Vincent in *Syria*, Vol. V, pp. 82-4; Watzinger, *Denkmäler*, I, Pl. 29; Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique*, Vol. I, pp. 427-34.

Canaanite animal style is represented by the Gezer 'votive' altars, originally regarded as Hellenistic,¹ but since dated to c. 625–600 B.C.² (Figs. 2–3). The animals are crudely drawn in outline, their bodies cross-hatched. Similar drawings were found at Samaria,³



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

where they are described as 'pre-Herodian, not Israelite or Graeco-Babylonian'⁴ and at Tell Jamma, where they have been dated to 670–550 B.C. and attributed to Assyrian influence.⁵ Other examples of such figures were found at Tell Sandahanna.⁶



FIG. 4

This simple and rustic style survived into later periods. The drawing of a gazelle found at Gezer⁷ (inscribed *δορκός* (Fig. 4)), has a rectangular body, covered by cross-hatching; the neck is represented by a line, the head and feet by triangles. The birds on the Late Bronze incense-burner from Beth-Shan⁸ show the same characteristics, which thus survived undoubtedly into a time when Greek was commonly written. Of a still later date is the crude relief found at Caesarea and illustrated on Pl. XL, 4. It represents a shepherd or hunter following some animals, drawn in profile outline and in a solid mass. A few Latin letters appear below.

These Cis-Jordanic instances are, of course, exceptional. The bulk of the extant samples of animal drawings done in rough outline is to be found beyond the Jordan, in the borderland between the settled Roman provinces and the Arabian desert. They are clearly the work of Beduin tribesmen drifting around the *limes*. Such are the rock-drawings, found in the Wadi et-Tuweiba and published by A. Alt.⁹ Their approximate

¹ Macalister, *Gezer*, Vol. II, pp. 442–4, Figs. 524–6.

² Gallig, *ZDPV*, 1929, p. 248; *ibid.*, 1934, p. 154.

³ Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon, *Samaria*, Vol. II, Pl. 80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 333.

⁵ Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 19, and Pls. XL, XLI. Cf. the relief of Tiglath-Pileser III, *B.M. Assyrian Sculptures*, Pl. XXIV.

⁶ Bliss–Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898–1900*, Pl. 101, No. 60.

⁷ *Gezer*, Vol. II, p. 441; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 35, Fig. 7, inscribed *Ἀντιόχου*.

⁸ A. Rowe, *Museum Journal*, 1926, p. 297.

⁹ *ZDPV*, 1935, pp. 73–4, Pls. 2–8.

date is shown by the accompanying Greek, Nabataean, and Latin inscriptions. The men represented on these drawings are given an hour-glass shape as on Late Bronze painted pottery, the ibexes have their horns exaggerated out of proportion, as on Susan pottery. Similar graffiti are found on some blocks of masonry at Lajjun, Trans-Jordan (Pl. XL, 3). Drawings obeying the same conventions can be found along the whole Roman-Arab border¹ together with Safaitic inscriptions; they continue into the Hejaz.² The artistic heritage of this main trend of popular art reappears in the Beth Alpha mosaics and the 'Abda paintings.³ The animals on the late Byzantine or early Arab lamp (Pl. XL, 5) still follow the same convention: the body is drawn in raised outline as one mass; the legs are simple lines curved at the end. The antithetic arrangement is observed. Birds represented by raised outlines appear on another lamp of the same period (Pl. XL, 6).⁴ Various instances of still later Arab reliefs show that the popular tradition of animal ornament did not become extinct till a much later date.⁵

2. Apart from this simplifying convention—which we have just followed from Middle Bronze to Arab times—there are other Oriental influences in Palestinian art, influences which manifest themselves in the details of animal figures, posed and drawn according to the prevailing principles of classical art. Such Oriental tendencies are revealed by excessive stylization or by excessive insistence on the emotional value of the representation, to the detriment of its general balance.

(a) Stylization is an effort to press artificially the picture of a living being into a pattern so that it becomes a part of a decorative design. In nature the irregular curves of an animal body do not lend themselves easily to such a process, although the natural pattern of fur and feathers sometimes does. Stylization can be achieved either by placing the body into a position approaching most closely the desired geometric effect; or by trying to efface the irregular outline by patterning the surface of the body and thus blending it with its surroundings.



FIG. 5

The pose which Oriental artists preferred both for its effect and for its 'conceptual' value⁶ was: the body in strict profile with the head turned a right angle, i.e. full-face

¹ Dussaud-Macler, *Safa*, Pls. XIII, 180; XVI, 333; XXIV, 631, 664; XXVI, 719; and farther south, on the 'Amman-Rutbah track, cf. Dussaud in *Syria*, Vol. X, Pls. XXXVI-VII, especially Nos. 74-5, 82-3, 161, 163, 170, 182. The latter resembles strongly the bull in the Gezer 'altars', *Gezer*, Vol. II, p. 444, Fig. 526.

² Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission en Arabie*, Vol. II, Pl. IX and pp. 115, 128.

³ Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent, *RB*, 1905, Pls. VI-VII.

⁴ P.A.M. Inv. No. 41.698.

⁵ Cf. the Ramle reliefs (Pl. XL, 8; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 120); the lion reliefs at Nabi Lawin (Pl. XL, 7) and Tiberias (Pl. XLI, 2).

⁶ Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 113.

towards the spectator. This is the favourite pose of bulls and lions in synagogue reliefs. The beast in relief at Kh. Karaza certainly had it, as one can see even in its present sadly mutilated state. Parallel instances occur in the Umm el 'Amad synagogue (Fig. 5),¹ in the bull from the Kafr Bir'im Zodiac² (Pl. XLVI, 8), and in the lions on the el Hamma mosaic.³ The Nabataeans also preferred it as may be seen in the great Petra lion,⁴ the Suweida bull⁵ and similar reliefs from er Rumman⁶ and Samad⁷ in the 'Ajlun region.⁸

In other cases the Oriental influences are expressed in details. At Umm el Qanatir⁹ a lion is represented in strict profile, with legs bent almost at right angles and placed a good distance away from the body (Fig. 6). The resulting picture recalls a convention

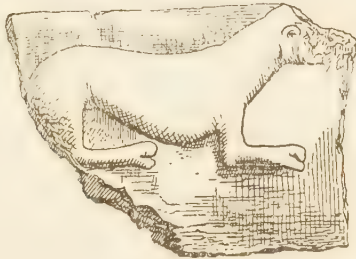


FIG. 6



FIG. 7

for running animals which occurs at Susa¹⁰ (Fig. 7), on Tell Halaf pottery¹¹ and on Cappadocian seals representing an hieratic row of animals¹² (early second millennium B.C.). This convention is repeated in a painting from 'Abda¹³ (Pl. XLI, 1).

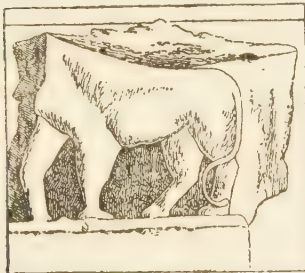


FIG. 8

The lion figure at el Hasaniya¹⁴ (Fig. 8) comes from the same vicinity as the relief from Umm el Qanatir (Fig. 6). The way in which the beast is shown walking at an amble corresponds not to its natural gait, viz. the alternate movement of left foreleg/right hindleg and right foreleg/left hindleg but to an Assyrian convention, viz. the left and right limbs moving simultaneously.¹⁵ This Assyrian convention is observed in most representations of lions in synagogues such as at Umm el 'Amad¹⁶ (Fig. 5), el Hamma,¹⁷ in one case at Beth Alpha,¹⁸ and

¹ KW, p. 73.

² BA, Pl. 7b.

³ JPOS, Vol. XV, Frontispiece.

⁴ Horsfield, QDAP, Vol. IX, Pl. XLIX.

⁵ BD, Vol. III, p. 209; AAES, p. 414.

⁶ Dalman, ZDPV, 1906, p. 201.

⁷ Steuernagel, *ibid.*, 1926, p. 42.

⁸ For this convention in Sumerian art see Cont., p. 611; it persists in all successive periods down to the Nimrud Dagil reliefs c. 40 B.C. (cf. p. 145, n. 8) and after.

⁹ Oliphant in QSt., 1885, p. 90.

¹⁰ Eph., Vol. I, p. 168; Pottier, MDP, Vol. XIII, Pls. III, 7; XLI, 4.

¹¹ Mallowan and Rose, Iraq, Vol. II, p. 162, 1.

¹² Moort., Pl. III, 4 = Cont., p. 952; id., Glyptique syro-hittite, Pl. XII, 80.

¹³ Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent, RB, 1905, p. 80, Pls. VI-VII.

¹⁴ Oliphant, QSt., 1886, p. 74.

¹⁵ Cont., p. 1019.

¹⁶ KW, p. 73, Fig. 139.

¹⁷ Sukenik, JPOS, Vol. XV, Frontispiece.

¹⁸ BA, Pl. VIII to right. The other lions at Beth Alpha show the correct gait (Pls. VIII left, X, and XXII) as do the Hittite lions (Cont., p. 1019), and the Egyptian examples (Schäfer, p. 243). The same applies to the lions at 'Iraq el Amir (PAES, Vol. II, A, Fig. 1, and Pl. I).

at Beth She'arim (Pl. XLI, 3 and 5). The colossal Nabataean lion relief at Petra¹ also follows the same convention.

The second point to be noted on the Hasaniya relief is that the knees of the forelegs are bent forwards. This occurs also at Beth Alpha² and on later reliefs.³

We have already pointed out above that, next to the adoption of a selected pose, the favourite means of stylization was the covering of the body by a pattern. This could be done in two ways: (1) some natural characteristic could be transformed into a regular pattern; the features selected being, of course, such as would lend themselves easily to this process: the mane of a lion, the fleece of sheep, the panther's spots, or the wing-feathers of a bird. (2) The other way was to abandon all compromise with nature and frankly to cover the body with an all-over pattern by dotting or hatching.

As examples of the former procedure one may quote the lamp from Beit Nattif, where the spots of a panther are marked by plastic rings⁴ (Pl. XLI, 4). A similar elaboration of this feature occurs on a Syrian relief of A.D. 262 from Kh. Abu Duhur representing guepards or cheetahs.⁵ In the sculpture of a lion found in the ruins of the synagogue at Nabratein (Pl. XLI, 6) the curls are transformed into a series of circular blobs with an indentation in the centre.⁶ The same conventional rendering of curls occurs on a Palmyrene relief representing the Good Shepherd holding a lamb.⁷ A horse's mane in a figurine found at Petra is represented by circular depressions.⁸ This way of rendering the hair has been noted in connexion with the Tannur sculptures;⁹ it occurs in Sumerian sculpture from the time of Gudea, and as an abstract ornament—in Sasanian stucco reliefs.¹⁰

The dry and spare torso of a lion found in the ruins of the Keraza synagogue (Pl. XLI, 8) has a mane with a very regular pattern, which consists of rectangular locks, arranged in neat rows and striated. The ribs in this lion's side are indicated by a series of parallel lines, running diagonally to the torso. The regular waving of the mane may be compared with that of the Hittite lion from Carchemish¹¹ and the Nabataean lion from Shaqqa.¹² The diagonal parallel ribbing occurs, e.g., at Carchemish¹³ on Khorsabad bulls,¹⁴ on a bull painted on a pot, perhaps by the Tell el 'Ajul painter,¹⁵ on the Syro-Hittite relief from Beisān,¹⁶ showing a fight between a lion and another animal, on Iron-Age ivories from

¹ Horsfield in *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Pl. XLIX.

² *BA*, Pls. X, XXII, 2.

³ Cf. p. 133, n. 5; p. 139, n. 3.

⁴ Baramki, *QDAP*, Vol. V, Pl. III, 2.

⁵ Seyrig in *Syria*, Vol. XVIII, p. 43.

⁶ KW, p. 105, Fig. 201; Cook, *RAP*, p. 212, notices the 'curious circles'.

⁷ Strzygowski, *L'Ancient art chrétien de Syrie*, p. 95, Fig. 59; Sarre, 'Studien z. Kunst d. Ostens' (*Strzygowski-Festschrift*, pp. 69–71, Pl. III, 2).

⁸ Horsfield, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Pl. XXX, Nos. 248, 249, 251.

⁹ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 116.

¹⁰ Baltrušaitis in Pope, Vol. I, p. 619. The same convention occurs in plant ornament in the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem and later in Umayyad sculpture found at Kh. Mafjar.

¹¹ Pottier, *L'Art hittite*, p. 15, Fig. 3.

¹² *AAES*, p. 416. The belt round the body of this lion should be compared to that shown in the Samaria lion graffiti, *Samaria*, Pl. 80 and Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, Pl. X, 1.

¹³ Hogarth, *Carchemish*, Vol. II, Pl. 27b.

¹⁴ *Cont.*, p. 1256.

¹⁵ Heurtley, *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff. Did the bulls used for bull-fighting wear a belt, as lions certainly did in the circus? (Steier, *PW*, Vol. XXV, s.v. Löwe, c. 981).

¹⁶ Rowe, *Topogr. and Hist., Beth-Shan*, Frontispiece.

Samaria,¹ influenced by Mesopotamian art, on ivories found at Nimrud² and on a Sasanian ibex.³

In the case of birds there is a tendency to give the body a circular shape, either a full circle if the wings are displayed (as on the Dubil relief, Pl. XLI, 9)⁴ or a half-circle where the bird is seen from the side⁵ as on the Isbeita relief (Pl. XLI, 10). The displayed pose has been always a favourite with Oriental artists, who invented it in the third millennium B.C.; it gives the bird in its broadest aspect with all its characteristic features in full view.⁶ However, it was later on adopted as the official pose of the Roman eagle and we cannot assume for certain that its occurrence in the Near East is primarily due to Oriental influences.⁷ The evidence is clearer, however, in the case of birds in profile with semi-circular bodies. This convention goes back to Susan pottery⁸ and is repeated on Palestinian pottery of the Bronze Age.⁹

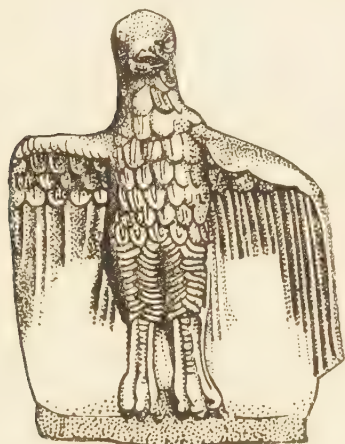


FIG. 9

In stylizing representations of birds the artists relied in general on the patterning of the body. This is sometimes effected by dotting, but the most common procedure was hatching or cross-hatching. The regular pattern of a bird's feathers needs but little stylization to transform it into a geometric pattern. The occurrence of this convention has been observed in Nabataean art, where an eagle from Si' (Fig. 9) is described in the following terms:¹⁰ 'the feathers in breast and legs are carved in a coarse, mechanical fashion, each overlapping regularly over the one below it like the tiles of a roof'.

We may judge the difference between even a mass-produced feather-pattern of classical inspiration and Nabataean sculpture even when made by a professional sculptor, by comparing the eagle from the Jerash pottery dump (Pl. XLII, 1)¹¹ with the roughly contemporary eagle perched on the head of the Atargatis from Kh. Tannur (Pl. XLII, 2). In the former an effort is visibly made to avoid the deadly uniformity of the feather pattern, which makes the latter such a prominent specimen of orientalizing art.

The Palestinian examples of this convention are the 'Dorcas' drawing (Fig. 4, p. 132) with its cross-hatched body and the dove and peacock on the Beit Nattif lamps (Pl. XLII, 4 and 5)¹² of the second century A.D. The lines on the wing of the peacock in Pl. XLII, 5

¹ Crowfoot, *op. cit.*, Pl. V, 1. For other Nabataean examples see below, p. 138.

² Barnett, *Iraq*, p. 190, Fig. 3 and Pl. XXV, 1.

³ Cf. Byzantine mosaics from Mird (unpublished) and the lintel at Isbeita (Crowfoot, *ECP*, Pl. XXIX, b).

⁴ Oliphant, *QSt.*, 1884, p. 32.

⁵ Susa I (Pottier, *MDP*, Vol. XIII, Pl. XVIII, 3-6); Khafaje (*Iraq Mus. Guide*, p. 9, No. 19675), Susa reliefs (*Eph.*, Vol. I, p. 179), the Vulture stele (*ibid.*, p. 190), the Dudu relief and Entemena vase (*ibid.*, pp. 208-9).

⁶ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 113.

⁷ Cf. also the Parthian sculpture at Seleucia, Yeivin in Waterman, *Tell 'Umar*, Vol. I, Pl. II.

⁸ Pottier, *MDP*, Vol. XIII, Pl. XXXI.

⁹ May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, Pl. XL.

¹¹ Iliffe, *QDAP*, Vol. XI, Pl. VI, 87.

¹² Baramki, *QDAP*, Vol. V, p. 5, Pl. VII.

¹⁰ *AAES*, p. 416.

are especially noteworthy: they follow the curve of the wing like a pattern and do not simulate natural wing-feathers, as in the dove (Pl. XLII, 4); and as in the Dubil 'eagle' (Pl. XLI, 9) which is covered by a network of lines, curving in the wings and straight on the body; of later date is the Beisân limestone relief of a bird picking at a rosette (Pl. XLII, 3) where the neck, wings, and tail are distinguished simply by three kinds of hatching running in different directions; and the birds on the frames of two mirrors,¹ where the feathers are indicated by a multitude of broken lines. A sixth-century Byzantine parallel to the Dubil eagle is that on an Isbeita capital from the North Church² (Fig. 10); it has the same round body, short, flapping wings, and is covered by a system of semicircular oval curved lines.

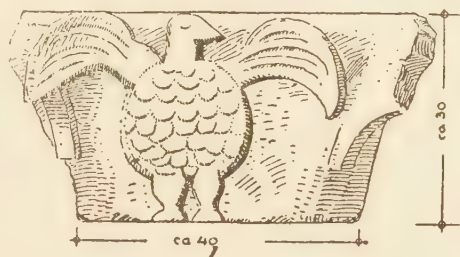


FIG. 10

The patterning of bird bodies goes back to the beginnings of Eastern art. Before, however, establishing its pedigree, we should note that in some instances at least it may be due to tendencies other than the purely decorative. The hatching in regular and widely spaced lines occurs on the wings of a stone duck-weight now at the 'Iraq Museum,³ and there the lines serve to mark both the wing feathers and as the framework of a cuneiform inscription (Fig. 11). (There are several later instances of inscriptions on animal bodies, in Mesopotamia⁴ and Northern Syria.⁵) The influence of this custom of covering the bodies with lines preparatory to inscriptions may have served as precedent for the purely ornamental hatching of later ages.

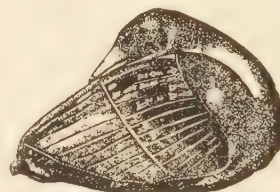


FIG. 11

In the fourth millennium B.C. we find hatching and cross-hatching at Susa II⁶ and on several Mesopotamian sites such as Tell 'Ubeid;⁷ Uruk;⁸ in the third millennium at Khafaje,⁹ on the Vulture stele;¹⁰ on an Elamite carved prop;¹¹ in the second millennium on the Yamula eagle¹² c. 1000 B.C.; at Tell Halaf;¹³ on a Nippur terracotta;¹⁴ c. 851-828 B.C. on the *kudurru* of Marduk-Zakir-Shumi, the Kassite King;¹⁵ on Bronze-Age vases in Palestine;¹⁶ on the Iron-Age 'votive altars' from Gezer¹⁷ (Fig. 3, p. 132) and Tell Jamma;¹⁸ on an Achaemenid gold roundel;¹⁹ in Parthian sculpture.²⁰

¹ QDAP, Vol. X, Pl. XXVII, 1. Cf. Reifenberg, *Denkm. d. jüd. Antike*, Pl. 31, 4.

² Wiegand, *Sinai*, p. 91; cf. Woolley and Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, Pl. XXIV, 4.

³ 'Iraq Museum Guide, p. 73, Fig. 60.

⁴ Cont., pp. 1185-6.

⁵ Hogarth, *Carchemish*, Vol. II, Pl. 31 c; at Marash, Cont., p. 1006.

⁶ Pottier, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXV, XXVIII, XXXI; *Eph.*, Vol. I, p. 173 E; Frankfort, *Studies in the Early Pottery of the Near East*, Vol. I, p. 41.

⁷ 'Iraq Museum Guide, No. 857, p. 16, Fig. 14.

⁸ V. Christian, *Altertumskunde d. Zweistromlandes*, Pl. 103.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 177; 'Iraq Museum Guide, p. 9, Fig. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

¹² Moort., Pl. LXIX.

¹⁰ *Eph.*, Vol. I, p. 190.

¹³ Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, Pl. 25 a, b.

¹⁵ *Eph.*, Vol. II, p. 418; Cont., p. 1167.

¹⁴ Hilprecht, *Nippur*, p. 59.

¹⁶ A. Rowe, *Museum Journal*, 1926, p. 297; Barrois, *Manuel*, p. 427; Heurtley, QDAP, Vol. VIII, Pls. IX e; XV.

¹⁷ Gezer, Vol. II, pp. 442-4, Figs. 524-6.

¹⁹ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 118.

¹⁸ Petrie, *Gerar*, Pls. XL, XLI.

²⁰ Yeivin in Waterman, *Tel 'Umar*, Vol. I, Pl. II.

One Nabataean parallel has been already noted above. Others are fairly numerous, e.g. the eagles from Suweida and Messad;¹ traces of this geometrizing influence may be found on the two eagle-sculptures from Kh. Tannur.² The eagle on tomb B 21 at Medāin-Şālih (c. A.D. 31)³ has cross-hatching on its breast, semicircular lines on the upper part of the wings (cf. the Beit Nattif peacock, Pl. XLII, 5), and straight lines on the lower wings. The two birds on a relief at Qasr Hallabat in Trans-Jordan show that the convention continued to be employed in the time of Caracalla, when the Nabataeans had lost their political independence.⁴ The survival of this convention into Byzantine times is shown by the sixth-century relief at Ephesus⁵ and various Coptic monuments.⁶ A particularly instructive example is a relief (perhaps Jewish?) from Medāin Şālih⁷ (Fig. 12). The ornamentally curved beak and the striation of the wings in alternate layers bear close resemblance to Sumerian eagles three thousand years older.⁸



FIG. 12

A revival of another old convention is seen on the wings of the bird flanking the Ark of the Law at Beth Alpha⁹ (Pl. XLII, 8). These wings are drawn with a white border surrounding a dark centre, which reproduces the oval shape of the wing. For parallels one has to go back to the Bronze Age¹⁰ where a similar convention prevailed. It must be remembered, of course, that the birds on the Beth Alpha shrine are not meant for living creatures, but merely reproduce in another medium a work of art in metal or wood, viz. the figures of birds on top of a shrine. This convention is not, however, restricted to the naïve mosaics at Beth Alpha, but appears also in the more sophisticated work at Jerash.¹¹ Such curious resemblance is not quoted here in the presumption, for the time being, of any

¹ Dunand in *Syria*, Vol. VII, Pls. LXIV, 2 and LXV, 1; Seyrig, *Syria*, Vol. X, Pl. LXXXII.

² Glueck, *ILN*, 1937, p. 300.

³ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission en Arabie*, Vol. II, p. 91, Pl. XLV.

⁴ Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 37, Fig. 11.

⁵ *Forschungen in Ephesus*, Vol. I, p. 136.

⁶ Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Nos. 7279, 7294.

⁷ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, Vol. I, p. 439.

⁸ Cf., e.g., *Eph.*, Vol. I, p. 179.

⁹ *BA*, Pls. VIII, IX; cf. the wings of the 'Seasons', Pl. X.

¹⁰ Cf. Heurtley, *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, Pls. XIII, h; XV.

¹¹ Cf. the mosaic in the Churches of St. John the Baptist (A.D. 530) and SS. Cosmas and Damianus (A.D. 533), Kraeling, *Gerasa*, Pls. LXVIII, b; LXXIII; cf. also the Madaba mosaic, Pl. XLIII, 7.

direct influence, but only to show a similar reaction to the same natural phenomena by artists widely separated in time, but related in race and locality.

(b) We have already stated that 'in Oriental art stress is laid on the spiritual side of the subject as distinct from and opposed to its usual aspect'. In the representation of the human figure this leads to certain conventions, which have been discussed above.¹ In animal ornament the same basic tendency has created another set of conventions. Here the artist endeavoured to deepen the impression produced on the spectator by enhancing through various artifices what he believed to be the dominant characteristic of his subject. For this purpose he stressed the natural features which express such characteristics and neglected such other elements as were indifferent or opposed to the dominant feature. The insistence on the features selected is sometimes expressed by exaggerating them in size or stylizing them out of all resemblance to their natural prototypes. The means employed to this effect are, however, often affected by the stylizing tendency just discussed.

In the case of wild beasts the quality emphasized was naturally that of ferocity. We may begin with the lions guarding the shrine on the Beth Alpha mosaic (Pl. XLII, 6). The two beasts are represented affronted and snarling at each other. The mouth is rendered as a semicircle, the teeth are indicated by sharp spikes and are enlarged out of proportion, the tongue protrudes. The ears are small semicircles attached externally to the outline of the head. The mane is barely indicated. In the lion on the left the leg-muscles are defined by a curve. The head in both cases is sharply set off and defined by another line. The beasts are represented as marching² with fangs bared and the tail lashing the air. The aim of the artist is clearly to indicate the terrifying qualities of these guardians of the sacred shrine. The Zodiac lion in the same mosaic differs only by its bent foreleg;³ the lion flanking the entrance has the same aspect as the others, but the mouth is represented as a dark cavern and the tail is an almost closed circle.

The el Hamma lion⁴ is of a much milder character, but simulates ferocity. The artist felt himself obliged to add some details intended to terrify, even though inconsistent with the general character of his work. Such details are: the protruding tongue, the bared fangs, and the tail (which has an incongruously elegant curve). On the whole the lion from el Hamma is superior in execution to those of Beth Alpha; nevertheless, it represents a compromise solution between conflicting tendencies which is not very satisfactory.

At Beth She'arim we find several images of animals executed by native artists in the third century A.D.; viz. the lions on the walls of catacomb 4, Room A (Pl. XLI, 3 and 5)⁵ and the fighting wolves on the Mausoleum frieze (Pl. XL, 1). The lion on Pl. XLI, 5 is shown leaping down to the level of a niche, with the forelegs outstretched. One should note the protruding tongue, the lashing tail, the indication of the fangs. Other details indicate 'conceptual' or decorative tendencies, such as the misplaced eye given in full-face or the circular sparse mane. The eyes of lions seem also to have troubled the artists at Beth Alpha. In one case (the Gate lion) the eye is placed vertically, in two others

¹ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 113.

³ Cf. p. 135, above.

⁵ Maisler, *BĴPES*, Vol. V, p. 73, Fig. 9.

² On the particulars of its gait, see above, p. 134 and n. 15.

⁴ Sukenik, *ĴPOS*, Vol. XV, Frontispiece.

(Zodiac and Thorah panels) it is misplaced in a diagonal direction. In all cases it is shown full-face. The Beth She'arim lion is of massive proportions, with a squared head and a neck of equal thickness.

The other lion from the same site (Pl. XLI, 3) is the reproduction in relief of a sculptured decoration on the roof of a Thorah shrine, similar to the birds at Beth Alpha (p. 138). The beast is represented as rising on its hind legs and roaring, with the tail lashing. Although most of the details are left unfinished by the artist, yet he has succeeded in indicating the massive teeth apparently deemed necessary to complete even such a primitive image. The sparse circular mane appears again, as well as the square shape of the head.

The details on the Mausoleum frieze, indicating ferocity (Pl. XL, 1), are obvious: the semicircular open jaws and the sharp teeth, exaggerated in size.

The examples just discussed are all from Jewish monuments, where animal ornament anticipates its preponderant part in later Jewish art. The tendency was not, however, confined to Jewish monuments alone. The Nabatean example from Qasr Rabba in Trans-Jordan (Pl. XLII, 7)¹ is hardly less instructive; it is also valuable as showing the tendencies to frightfulness and stylization expressed in the round. The face is analysed into salient masses which form the nose and snout, cheek and brow. Even the eyes are protruding balls; the nose and the snout are in turn covered by numerous parallel ridges.

The lion was one of the favourite subjects of ancient Oriental art;² therefore we find many comparisons for the essential features of the monuments just discussed. A preliminary scrutiny of the material indicates that in Oriental art there were two different methods of representing a lion. The Sumerian tradition stresses the power latent in the quiet beast, the guardian of palaces and temples,³ and this is the case also in Egypt.⁴ This kind of lion, often crouching, is usually represented with a half-open mouth and a partly protruding tongue.⁵ The fancy of the mountain peoples of Asia Minor and Iran (Luristan) concentrated, however, upon the ferocious and terrifying beast of prey. Palestinian artists preferred to follow this tradition.

The emphasis on the lion's ferocity begins at Susa in the fourth or third millennium,⁶ where the roaring mouth is already represented by a semicircle. The lion appears roaring and in fury on the seals from the period of the Akkadian empire (second half of the third millennium) with lashing tail and bared fangs.⁷ By c. 2000 B.C. a seal at Kültepe⁸ shows the open mouth, the tail curved above the body (and following the curve of the body). The lion relief from Amaksiz near Angora (Fig. 13; second half of the second millennium)⁹ shows a massive and stylized outline recalling the Beth-She'arim type. The mouth is semicircular, the teeth square, the muscles of the face emphasized, and the tail made to curve upwards. The flat relief with its insistence on the structural masses, torso, and limbs is far removed from the classical naturalism. This Hittite lion stands near the

¹ Cf. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 196, Fig. 126.

² Moort., p. 70 f.; J. B. Ward Perkins, *Antiquity*, 1947, pp. 23-41.

³ Cont., p. 746.

⁴ Schäfer, p. 24.

⁶ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 17 c.

⁸ Moort., Pl. VI, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 583-4.

⁷ Cont., p. 686.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXV.

beginning of a long tradition, more examples of which are found in the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. at Boghazköi.¹ In the Boghazköi graffito² the head of the lion is framed in a row of semicircles representing the mane. The Carchemish lion³ is very similar. About 1000 B.C. we find at Senjirli and Carchemish⁴ representations of lion-



FIG. 13

headed monsters, with the roaring mouth, lolled-out tongue, the lashing tail, and head defined from the body by a line; occasionally the leg muscles are similarly defined.⁵ The Sheikh Sa'ad lion⁶ has the massive build and wide-open mouth; in the Malatia relief⁷ the curved and bared fangs should be noted. The lions from Senjirli and Carchemish⁸ supporting statues of deities continue the tradition of the lion from the Boghazköi gate. The geometric character of their head should be noted: the various parts are defined like parts of a pattern (Fig. 14; cf. Pl. XLII, 7). The head is encircled by a circular mane like a wreath. The mouth, seen in profile, is semicircular. The snout is decorated by parallel ridges. The eyes are protruding balls, the ears are semicircular projections (cf. Beth Alpha). The tongue lolls out. The toes are treated in profile like the lines of a curved pattern. They appear in front separated by straight lines (which effect is repeated in a lion from the Umm Qanātir synagogue).⁹ The sitting lion on a North-Syrian ivory (thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.) has the same curved mouth and regular dentation.¹⁰

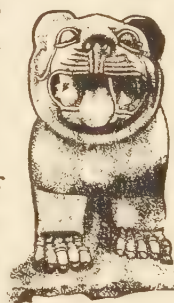


FIG. 14

The earliest Assyrian art was strongly influenced by the Hittites.¹¹ We need not consider the naturalistic masterpieces from the heyday of Assyrian art; the normal stylized tradition of Oriental art continued to operate in minor objects, such as seals¹² or weights.¹³ The effect of ferocity is also sought for and attained in statuary of a decorative character, such as the lion from the time of Assurnazirpal.¹⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVII.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. LXVI, 1.

³ Hogarth, *Carchemish*, Vol. I, Pl. B 11.

⁴ Pottier, *L'Art hittite*, pp. 26-9, 51-6, 67-8 and Pl. V, Fig. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67, 68 (Senjirli).

⁶ *Cont.*, p. 1018.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1130.

⁸ Moort., Pls. LI, LII; Wachsmuth, *JDAI*, 1931, p. 37.

⁹ *KW.*, p. 129.

¹⁰ Barnett, *QSt.*, 1939, Pl. IV.

¹¹ Pottier, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

¹² *Cambridge Ancient History*, Pls. I, 226 (b), 228 (e) (tenth to seventh century B.C.).

¹³ *Cont.*, p. 1304.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1186.

In Persia the tradition of Susa continues to be evident in the Luristan plaque (ninth to eighth centuries B.C.).¹ Even earlier a fantastic ibex painted on a vase from Nihāvand shows the upper muscles of the leg picked out by dotting and standing out against the dark body.² In the Achaemenid period the Persians continued the Oriental tradition:

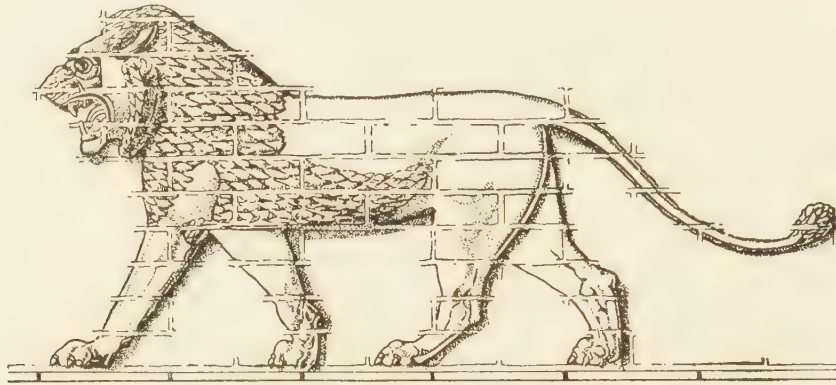


FIG. 15

the Susa lion-weight³ is a somewhat more stylized replica of the Assyrian weight from Khorsabad.⁴ We may also compare the brick enamel lions from Babylon (Nebuchadrezzar)⁵ (Fig. 15) and Susa (Achaemenid)⁶ (Fig. 16). Both are shown in profile, marching and roaring; both have the same division of the components of the head into geometric

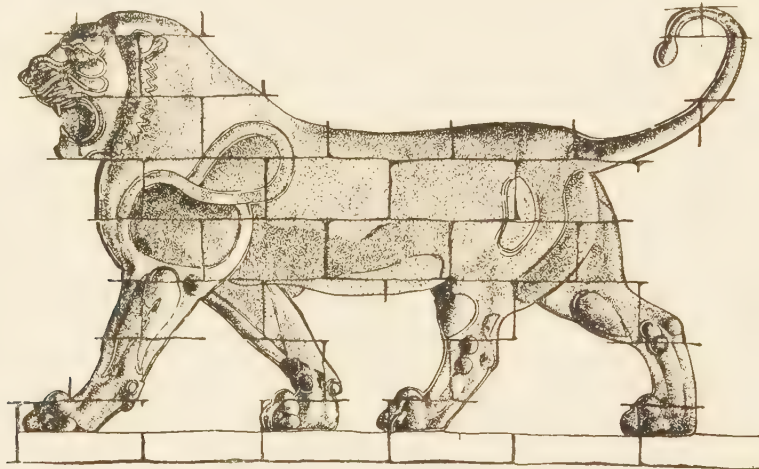


FIG. 16

entities, the same circular profile of the mouth spiked with sharp teeth and showing a protruding tongue. The Persian lion is somewhat more stylized: the mane framing the head consists of a series of ornamental triangles, the leg muscles are picked out in outline and the tail has a more ornamental curvature. The early Achaemenid terra-cotta lion

¹ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 56A; *Eph.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

³ Cont., p. 1446.

⁵ Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, Fig. 16.

⁶ *Eph.*, Vol. II, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Pl. 6A.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1304.

head¹ (Fig. 17) is another example of this class. According to the scholars who publish it, it combines Assyrian (really Hittite-Anatolian) ferocity with Iranian geometric designs: a face analysed into salient developments, the wreath-like mane ornamented by wedge-shaped lines, a circular mouth, teeth represented by squares, the snout decorated by palmettes. The offshoots of this style into Phrygia² and into the Orientalizing art of archaic Greece³ may be noted by the way.

In the painted pottery of the Late Bronze Age there has survived at least one attempt to depict the ferocious lion of Asiatic art, with its mouth open, the teeth indicated, the tail raised.⁴ In the Iron Age the Gezer (Fig. 2, p. 132)⁵ and Samaria 'altars'⁶ mark a survival of the same tradition. A comparative study of the Gezer lion and the Beth Alpha mosaic beasts reveals a very close resemblance in conception and execution.



FIG. 17

To find the connecting link between these Iron Age representations and the art of the third to sixth centuries A.D., we must, as usual, turn eastwards and pass into the Nabatene. Unfortunately the great Petra lion is too much weathered to show any details. That its massiveness and lashing tail is in the 'Hittite, Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Persian, Parthian tradition' has been noted by G. and A. Horsfield.⁷ The better preserved examples in Arabia⁸ show most of the characteristics already discussed; the standing Khareiba lions⁹ (Minaean?) are strikingly similar to the Hittite beasts from Senjirli and Carchemish.¹⁰ The lions on the 'Iraq el Amir frieze¹¹ are too much weathered to show many details; this is most regrettable as their historical position at the cross-roads of the Oriental and Hellenistic art would make their evidence of the highest value. At Dura Rostovtzeff has noted the stylized mane, large rhomboid eyes, and long tails of the lions.¹²

While the Oriental artist stressed the ferocity of the lion, he tried to emphasize in other animals such other qualities as were deemed suitable. A bulky heaviness is the dominant note in representations of bulls such as on the Nabataean Suweida altar¹³ or the Beth Alpha mosaic;¹⁴ this is often combined with various stylized details, horns curved in a neat semicircle,¹⁵ and a hatched tail. One may compare the buffaloes from Khafaje,¹⁶ the Tell el 'Ubeid bull,¹⁷ the bull from Carchemish.¹⁸ The same heavy types occur on Palmyrene

¹ Pope, Vol. I, p. 307, Fig. 73.

³ Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, Pls. I, 1; II, 5; III, 7.

⁴ From Tell el Far'a. Petrie, *Beth Pelet*, Vol. II, Pl. LVIII.

⁵ *Gezer*, Vol. II, p. 442.

⁷ *QDAP*, Vol. IX, p. 204, No. 478 and Pl. XLIX.

⁸ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission arch. en Arabie*, Vol. II, Pls. XXXVI and CXXXIII; cf. the Suweida lion's head, Dunand, *Musée*, No. 146.

⁹ Jaussen and Savignac, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 72 and Pls. XXXII, XXXIV-XXXV.

¹⁰ Moort., Pls. LI, LII.

¹¹ *PAES*, Vol. II, A, Fig. 1 B.

¹² *DPPA*, p. 282.

¹³ *AAES*, p. 414.

¹⁴ *BA*, Pl. XXII.

¹⁵ *Cont.*, p. 688.

¹⁶ Christian, *Altertumskund. d. Zweistroml.*, Pl. 109.

¹⁷ *Cont.*, p. 592.

¹⁸ Pottier, *L'Art hittite*, p. 24.

² *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 185 (b).

⁶ *Samaria*, Vol. II, Pl. 80.

tesserae¹ at Dura,² a tomb at Qizz el Akhir,³ and the Duweir relief, dated A.D. 295.⁴ The horns curving in a semicircle are a prominent feature of the buffaloes at Beth She'arim (Catacomb I, Hall 7), at Hajar 'Id⁵ and Beth Alpha, and can be traced as far as the Luristan bronzes.⁶

We may conclude the examination of the form of the animal ornament by noting some isolated instances of non-classical animal representations in late Palestinian art:

At Shefa 'Amr⁷ the beasts on the side-wall of the tomb show a revival of the old Oriental tradition of human-headed beasts; the head in full-face is combined with a body in profile⁸ (Fig. 1, p. 130).

Two bulls' heads on a lintel (Pl. XLII, 9) were found at Beit Jibrin. They are cut in two flat planes and recall the Hercules relief from Kurmul.⁹

The two lions on the Umm el 'Amad synagogue are resting their lifted forepaws on bulls' heads¹⁰ (Fig. 5, p. 133). This detail is identical with a later, presumably medieval relief, once at Wādi el Hammām and now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.¹¹ The distance between the two sites is so small that one is compelled to assume that the sculptor of the relief knew and was influenced by the synagogue panel, which even in his days was of respectable antiquity. The connexion between the two reliefs has been noted by Dalman.¹² The motif is unique in synagogue art, but it does occur in Syrian sculpture elsewhere.¹³ Here is one of the few instances where we have proof of a direct contact between the art of the synagogues and its remote descendants in later ages.

The mirror frame now in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Pl. XLII, 10) sums up many of the orientalizing tendencies described above. The points to be noted are: the 'heraldic' arrangement of the two fighting lions, the stiffly cut necks, the ferocious muzzles with protruding tongues, the large (and misplaced) eyes¹⁴ of the lion on the right, the way the paws are represented (for which the Beth She'arim lion, Pl. XLI, 5, should be compared), the regular, zigzag pattern of the manes,¹⁵ the rectangular bend of the tails.¹⁶ However, by far the most interesting revival in this Byzantine object is that of the birds perched on the back of each beast. This quite characteristic (because quite unusual) arrangement has a long history in the Orient¹⁷ going back to Susa c. 3000 B.C.,¹⁸ Tell el 'Ubeid (same date),¹⁹ Tello (thirtieth century B.C.),²⁰ and Senjirli (c. 1000 B.C.).²¹

Another object of great interest is the Byzantine lamp (Pl. XLI, 7), the bottom of which is ornamented by a vase shown as transparent, with fishes swimming in it in a flat plane parallel to the spectator. This old Egyptian convention occurs also on the Isbeita lintel (Pl. XLI, 10).²²

¹ Cumont in *Syria*, Vol. VIII, p. 168.

³ Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. IV, Pl. X, 13.

⁵ Ory, *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, Pl. XXVII.

⁷ *SWP*, Vol. I, p. 341; Schumacher in *QSt.*, 1889, p. 188; Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. III, 2, Pls. XVI-XVII.

⁸ Cf. above, p. 133 f.

¹¹ No. A 1162-3.

¹³ KW, p. 198.

¹⁶ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 128.

¹⁸ *Cont.*, p. 386.

²¹ Moort, Pl. XXXVII.

² *DE*, Vol. V, Pl. XXXIII, 2.

⁴ Dussaud, *Not.*, p. 89.

⁶ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 56A; *Eph.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

⁹ *QDAP*, Vol. X, Pl. XXVII, 2.

¹⁰ KW, p. 73, Fig. 139.

¹² *ZDPV*, 1906, pp. 199-201, Fig. 14; *id.*, *PfB*, 1923 (XIX), p. 77 f.

¹⁴ Cf. *DPPA*, p. 282.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS*, 1944, pp. 130-2.

²⁰ *Eph.*, Vol. I, 187 f.

²² Crowfoot, *ECP*, Pl. XXIX, b.

In accordance with the general purpose of this study we have so far refrained from mentioning such Oriental influences as were not directly related to the outward form of works of art in the period under discussion. The Oriental factor in connexion with the subject-matter of Palestinian art may, however, deserve a passing reference. It expresses itself, e.g. in selection for representation of animal species common in the Near East, such as the humped ox. This beast is common in Syria¹ and appears from the second millennium B.C. onwards.² This is the type of the Summaq³ and Beth Alpha bulls,⁴ as well as the Ascalon tomb.⁵ A parallel case are the fat-tailed sheep of the Jerash chalice⁶ (Pl. XLIII, 2).

The strongest and most persistent of all Oriental influences manifests itself, as usual, in matters of religious symbolism. This factor exercised a well-nigh decisive influence on the selection of the beasts represented. The lion is preferred both as solar⁷ or stellar⁸ emblem; and, together with a vase, as a Mithraic symbol;⁹ also as a subject peculiarly reserved for royalty.¹⁰ The bull has served a variety of meanings,¹¹ but is in Syria associated particularly with Hadad¹² or his equivalent, Jupiter Heliopolitanus;¹³ it is a lunar symbol as well.¹⁴ Bull's heads appear on Nabataean¹⁵ and Phoenician altars,¹⁶ on lintels,¹⁷ and in combination with sun symbols.¹⁸ They also appear on a synagogue lintel from Şuṣṣāf¹⁹ though, of course, not in association with pagan symbolism. Finally the eagle is a well-known astral and solar symbol,²⁰ often representing Hadad crushing a snake;²¹ it occurs in shrines.²² It also occurs in pagan monuments in Palestine²³ and—again deprived of its religious symbolism—in synagogue and church decorations.²⁴ The Dubil lintel of which a fragment is published here (Pl. XLI, 9)²⁵ shows the eagle associated with rosettes, &c., which may stand for a variety of symbols.²⁶

¹ Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, p. 68.

² Moort., p. 33; Cont., pp. 388–9, 688; Christian, *Altertumsk.*, Pl. 109 (Khafaje); cf. Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 30.

³ See Pl. XL, 3.

⁴ Ory, *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, Pl. XXVII.

⁵ *Gerasa*, ed. Kraeling, Pl. CXXXIX.

⁶ Dussaud, *Not.*, p. 88. Cf. KW, p. 198 f. and Watz., Vol. II, p. 112.

⁷ Cf. the Nimrud-Dagh lion (c. 40 B.C.) K. Humann u. O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1890, Pl. XL.

⁸ Cook, *RAP*, p. 212.

⁹ Rodenwaldt, *JDAI*, 1936, p. 87; Dalman, *PfB*, 1923 (XIX), p. 78.

¹⁰ Malten, *JDAI*, 1928, pp. 90 ff.

¹¹ Cumont in *Syria*, Vol. VIII, p. 166; Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan*, p. 188, Fig. 119; Lidzbarski, *Eph. epigr. sem.*, Vol. III, p. 162; Cook, *RAP*, p. 217; Freeman, *AJA*, 1941, p. 338, Fig. 1.

¹² Dussaud, *Not.*, p. 47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁴ *AAES*, p. 415.

¹⁵ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. XL from Sarafand (Sarepta).

¹⁶ *PAES*, Vol. IIa, p. 322, associated with various symbols.

¹⁷ Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. VII, p. 155; Cook, *RAP*, p. 27.

¹⁸ Kitchener in *QSt.*, 1878, p. 105; *SWP*, Vol. I, p. 256.

¹⁹ Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, Vol. I, pp. 400–1; Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. V, pp. 1 ff.; cf. Cook, *RAP*, pp. 181–90, 212.

²⁰ *DE*, Vol. IV, p. 213.

²¹ *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 141.

²² Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. V, pp. 6*, 14*–20* (122, 130–6); Cook, *RAP*, p. 59.

²³ *MFOB*, Vol. V, pp. 16* (132), 21*–22* (137–8); KW, pp. 196–8.

²⁴ It may be seen complete in Oliphant's drawing, *QSt.*, 1884, p. 32.

²⁵ See Part D of this article (to follow).

C 2. *Plant Ornament*

In the repertoire of the Palestinian artist of the Roman and Byzantine periods plant ornament occupies a very prominent position. Ornament based on plant forms was a favourite in both Greece and the Near East. Its use in architectural decoration on friezes and capitals has enormously multiplied the material at our disposal. Further, plant ornament occupies an intermediate position between the human and animal figures, already discussed, and the geometric ornament, to be dealt with. On the one hand, floral subjects can in most cases be still identified with definable botanical species. On the other hand, plant ornament showed a tendency to absolute ornament in composition and detail, and consequently began to be divorced from all relation to actual objects. It is therefore specially suitable for the expression in Greek garb of some of the underlying principles of Oriental decorative art, such as the *horror vacui*, the repetitive 'endless' pattern, the tendency to transform naturalistic forms into geometric patterns, and the cross-current which tended to realism in details.

Because of the ubiquity of plant ornament and the way in which it was particularly suitable to the expression of orientalizing tendencies we shall attempt to extend the scope of this inquiry somewhat beyond that employed in the preceding chapters. Plant ornament is, therefore, discussed under four headings, of which the first two cover the ground according to the method so far employed, while the other two are new. These four subdivisions are:

- (a) Direct relations to earlier Oriental examples in matters of form.
- (b) Adoption into the repertoire of ornament of plants derived from the local flora, such as the olive, pomegranate, &c.
- (c) Stylization. We have noticed above with regard to animal ornament¹ the tendency to transform representations of living beings into abstract patterns, so that they became parts of a decorative design. It had much greater scope in patterns derived from plant shapes, which already in nature are of an immobile and ornamental character. This tendency to stylization assumes various forms: details (leaves, flowers, fruits, &c.) take an abstract shape; the whole plant is given a geometric aspect, e.g. it is transformed into a scroll; parts from different species are combined into one whole; parts which in nature usually do not appear together (such as flowers and fruits) are shown at the same time.
- (d) The transformation of the design from relief modelled in surfaces (i) to an abstract pattern outlined by borders in relief cut in planes; (ii) to an optical pattern of contrasting lights and shadows, effected by deep undercutting and combined by geometric outlines into a stylized whole. These styles, which became all but universal in the Late Roman period,² can be shown to have existed in very early examples of native art in Syria and Palestine and thus represent an important original contribution of these countries to the evolution of ornament. Connected with it are the attempts of local artists to change, according to the decorative

¹ See above, p. 133.

² Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pp. 161-79; Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, pp. 71 ff.



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



1



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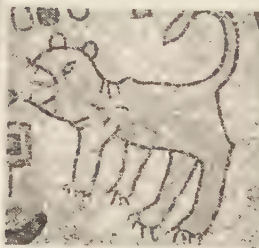
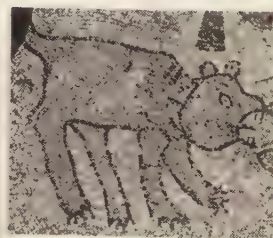
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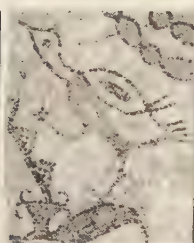
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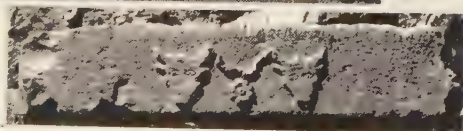
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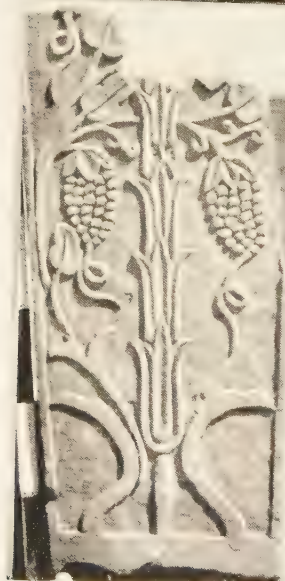
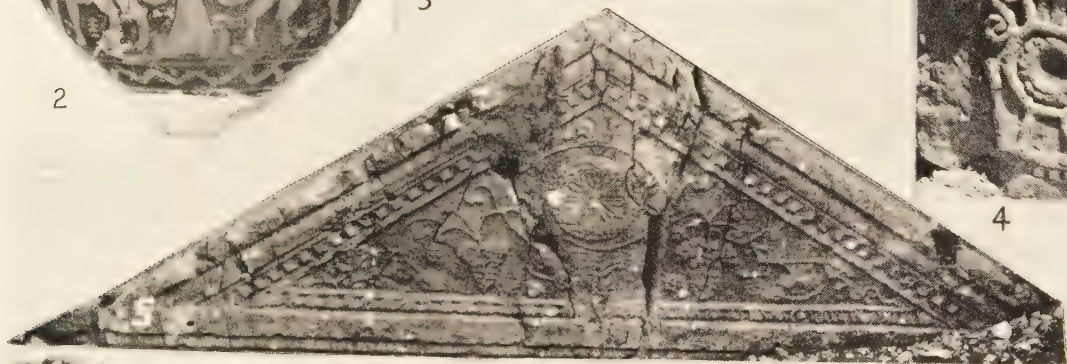


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9

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART

feeling of the East, the design of the 'classical' Greek capitals of the Ionic and Corinthian order.

As original creations of Near Eastern artists such transformations have their place among the 'Oriental elements', although they do not appear to be directly connected with the ancient Orient. This evolution of native ornament influenced in turn the art of the Copts, the Syrians, and, ultimately, even that of Constantinople.

(a) *Elements derived from Ancient Oriental art*

I. A sixth-century mosaic from Madaba (Pl. XLIII, 7)¹ shows a tree represented by a dark mass of foliage with branches and fruit in light colour standing out against this background. The branches are shown at their full length, with single leaves attached to them. This convention represents a compromise between a 'conceptual' and a visual image of a tree. The artist knew that a tree consists of a trunk and branches with leaves and fruits and he represented them all. At the same time his visual memory had retained another image of a tree as a dark mass of foliage against a bright background. In representing a tree in mosaic he combined both.

The same convention is repeated in other mosaics from Madaba,² Mukheiyat,³ Ma'in,⁴ and Mt. Nebo,⁵ all close neighbours in time and space.⁶ It occurs in a simplified form on a tombstone from Gaza dated 547,⁷ and continues in the eighth-century mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and the Umayyad mosque at Damascus.⁸ In tracing this convention backwards we come to the fourth-century mosaics at Antioch⁹ and contemporary Coptic textile work.¹⁰

Many monuments prove that this is an old Oriental way of depicting trees. A skeleton of the trunk and branches against an outlined mass of foliage appears as early as the stele of Naram-Sin (c. 2331-2293 B.C.)¹¹ (Fig. 18), on a contemporary (i.e. Akkadian) seal found at Tello,¹² on another Mesopotamian seal from the first quarter of the third millennium,¹³ and on a seal from Susa.¹⁴ Parallel representations of trees in Egyptian painting show that the convention was universal in the East.¹⁵ A cylinder (end of the second millennium?)¹⁶ has



FIG. 18

¹ de Vaux, *RB*, 1938, Pl. XI, p. 233.

² Creswell, Vol. I, Fig. 131, p. 181.

³ Lemaire, *RB*, 1934, Pls. XXIV, 1; XXV, 2.

⁴ de Vaux, *loc. cit.*, p. 235, Fig. 2 and Pls. XI, XIV-XV.

⁵ Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mt. Nebo*, Pls. 106, 107.

⁶ The same conventional tree appears in the sixth-century relief on the Tetrapylon from Ephesus (*Ephesus*, Vol. I, p. 136). Cf. also the Mafjar mosaic (Baramki, *Ill. Lond. News*, 14 July 1945).

⁷ Germer-Durand, *RB*, 1892, p. 242.

⁸ Creswell, Vol. I, Pls. 43, 44.

⁹ R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch on the Orontes*, Vol. II, Pls. 30, No. 42; 72-3, No. 90. Cf. also the Serjilla mosaic, A.D. 473, *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 290.

¹⁰ Gerspach, *Les Tapisseries coptes*, No. 148 (a light plant against a dark background of foliage), and W. F. Vollbach and E. Kühnel, *Late Antique, Coptic and Islamic Textiles*, No. 12 (yellow branches and red fruit against a green background).

¹¹ *Eph.*, Vol. I, Pl. 214 A; *MDP*, Vol. I, Pl. X.

¹² Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres, Musée du Louvre*, Vol. II, Pl. 9, Fig. 6 = Danth., Vol. II, No. 701.

¹³ Weber, *Der Alte Orient*, 17/18, Fig. 230 = Danth., Vol. II, No. 700.

¹⁴ *MDP*, Vol. XII, Pl. II; Nos. 163, 166.

¹⁵ Schäfer, pp. 165, 186; Danth., Vol. II, No. 956 = Keimer, *Annales du service des antiquités*, Vol. XXIX, Pl. I.

¹⁶ Danth., Vol. II, No. 513.

a tree with three branches (each ending in a group of lines or dots, simulating leaves or flowers) against a circular outline. In Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad and Quyunjiq there are numerous parallel instances, in which the branches are shown full length against a leafy background.¹ We may compare also a Cypriote silver bowl of Oriental inspiration.² The latest example of this convention on a monument of the ancient East appears in the reliefs flanking the monumental Apadana stairs at Persepolis (Fig. 19).³ Here the visible thread breaks off; but its survival may be presumed from a design on the fresco at the villa of Livia at Prima porta based on Hellenistic prototypes and in which some trees appear with light leaves and fruits in the foreground, on a dark background.⁴ The fact that the first clear traces of the revival of the old convention appear at Antioch and on Coptic textiles suggests that the missing links will be eventually supplied by Eastern woven materials.

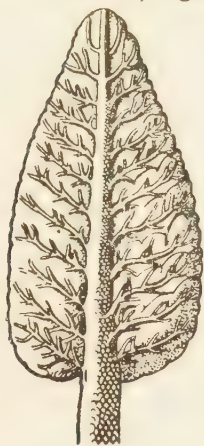


FIG. 19

II. Simultaneously with the convention discussed above there appears another of a slightly different form. It may be exemplified by the Christian glass chalice from Jerash (Pl. XLIII, 2).⁵ Here is an olive-tree consisting of a trunk, with two branches; the latter have leaves symmetrically arranged⁶ and spread out on a plane parallel to the spectator; there are three off-shoots, curved at the end. Here the 'conceptual' image of a tree (composed of trunk, branches, leaves) and its natural aspect are still farther apart. Side by side with the stripping of the tree from all unnecessary additions, the artist has followed a strongly stylizing tendency in the details, e.g. in the branches and leaves.

As one might expect from the stronger conceptual character of this convention it is earlier than the one discussed above. We can follow the image of a tree restricted to the three essential elements enumerated from the Jemdet Nasr period downwards;⁷ c. 3000 B.C. on a cylinder from Susa;⁸ and on a steatite vase from the same site (c. 2500 B.C.).⁹ In the second half of the second millennium it occurs on a cylinder;¹⁰ in the Late Bronze Age in a schematized form on a vase from Tell Far'a in Palestine¹¹ contemporary with the XIXth dynasty. At the end of the second millennium it appears again at Susa¹² and in Assyria in the relief of Assurnazirpal.¹³ It occurs also on an ivory pyxis of the ninth-century B.C. from Nimrud;¹⁴ in the first half of the first millennium on a cylinder in the Musée Guimet¹⁵ and at about the same time on a sarcophagus found in Cyprus.¹⁶ Here

¹ *B.M. Assy. Sculptures*, Pl. XXXI; Hall, *Babyl. and Ass. Sculptures in the B.M.*, Pl. XLI.

² Myres, *Handbook, Cesnola Collection*, No. 4556.

³ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 92.

⁴ Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung der Griechen*, Vol. III, p. 334.

⁵ Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa*, Pl. CXXXIX, pp. 505-12, by P. V. C. Baur.

⁶ On such a symmetrical arrangement as a sign of stylization, cf. Riegl, *St.*, p. 41.

⁷ On a stone vase from Khafaje (Danth., Vol. II, No. 611; *Ill. Lond. News*, 14 Sept. 1935, p. 432, Fig. 4).

⁸ Danth., Vol. II, No. 639.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 694; *Eph.*, Vol. I, Pl. 255A.

¹⁰ Danth., Vol. II, No. 756.

¹¹ Petrie, *Beth Pelet*, Vol. II, Pl. LVIII, 972.

¹² Danth., Vol. II, No. 736; *Eph.*, Vol. I, Pl. 275.

¹³ *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, Volume of Plates I, Pls. 217-19; *Ass. Sculpt. B.M.*, Pls. XV, LIX.

¹⁴ Barnett, *QSt.*, 1939, Pl. IX, 2.

¹⁵ Danth., Vol. II, No. 80.

¹⁶ Myres, *Handbook, Cesnola Coll.*, No. 1364, p. 229; better reproduction in G. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, Pl. XXIX, No. 89, and Pl. XXXV, No. 108.

the tradition again breaks off; but it reappears on the fourth-century frescoes from Bagawat¹ and on Coptic textiles² of roughly the same date. In both the latter examples the decorative effect is enhanced by the regular and symmetrical spacing of branches and leaves. The process of transmission from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D. must again have been effected through textiles.

III. A third instance of Oriental influences is visible in the conventional representation of one of the most popular and widespread elements of Oriental origin, viz. the *vine*.

It is generally admitted³ that the use of the vine as an ornament is of Oriental origin. In Greek art it does occur on early orientalizing vases and on representations connected with the Dionysiac circle; but it occupies on the whole a subordinate position, far inferior to that of the palmette and the acanthus. The use of the vine motif in a naturalistic manner revived in Hellenistic art, especially in Syria, from the fourth century B.C. onwards. From the Orient the motif spread again westwards. We find it everywhere in the Roman Empire, on mosaic pavements, vases, and reliefs. Side by side with this general trend, there appears on the fringe of the Graeco-Roman world another current of minor importance. It seems to be derived more directly from the Egyptian and Assyrian prototypes, and is expressed by a conventionalized bunch of grapes and vine leaf.

In all Oriental representations of the grape vine the grapes and leaves are spread out on the surface on a plane parallel to the spectator, in complete disregard of the laws of gravity (see Fig. 20, from a Si' tomb).⁴ The grapes form bunches of various geometric shapes, with the surface stylized by a geometrically regular granulation or cross-hatching. The single grapes are indicated rather than depicted; in other cases the bunch is dissolved into its component grapes, each marked by a dot. The latter convention occurs already on an Egyptian painting of the XVIIIth dynasty (c. 1580-1350 B.C.) (Fig. 21).⁵ Geometrized bunches of grapes are the rule at Qyunjiq, on reliefs from the times of Sennacherib⁶ and Assurbanipal.⁷ The Egyptian paintings have a peculiar shape of the bunch of grapes, which is composed of one big central bunch and two smaller clusters on both sides. In the Assyrian reliefs⁸ (Fig. 22) this type of bunch appears in a simplified form, with only one side-cluster to the left or the right. The oval bunches of grapes with a cross-hatched surface occur also on a relief from Teima in Arabia.⁹



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 22

In the Roman period we find the geometrized cluster of grapes in Nabataean sculpture,

¹ Wulff, *Altchristl. u. byz. Kunst*, Vol. I, pp. 94-5.

² W. F. Vollbach and E. Kühnel, *Late Antique, Coptic and Islamic Textiles*, No. 23.

³ Dalton, *Byz. Art and Archaeol.*, pp. 700 ff.

⁴ *PAES*, Vol. II, A, Fig. 346 B.

⁵ Gressmann, *Alt. Bilder zum A.T.*, Pl. LXXIX, 183.

⁶ *Assyr. Sculpt. in the B.M.*, Pls. XLII-XLIII, LVIII-LXIII.

⁷ Hall, *Babyl. and Assyr. Sculpt. in the B.M.*, Pls. XLI, LV.

⁸ *Assyr. Sculpt. in the B.M.*, Pls. XLIII, LVIII, &c.

⁹ Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Art: Sardinia and Judaea*, Vol. I, p. 307; Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 12.

as at Si' (A.D. 32-3) where the clusters of grapes have a cross-hatched surface, while the leaves are spread out flatly.¹ Flat bunches formed by clusters of geometrized grapes occur on a Roman relief found near Acre (Pl. XLIII, 6). A lintel from Isbeita of c. A.D. 600 has pine-shaped bunches with a stylized surface on which regular rows of circles indicate grapes² (Pl. XLIII, 3; cf. the Isbeita relief, Pl. XLIII, 4). Triangular bunches of grapes occur on lamps from Petra.³ With the advent of the triangular 'scroll' (see below, p. 160 f.) the triangular cluster of grapes was generally used to fill the resulting angles, as on a relief from the synagogue of el Jish⁴ (Fig. 53, p. 161) and on lamps from Beit Nattif⁵ and the site of Ophel at Jerusalem.⁶ Parallel cases occur on Syrian reliefs⁷ and lead figurines.⁸ Occasionally the triangle is itself dissolved into separate dots, each representing a grape. Nabataean pottery painting⁹ and a fresco from Sidon¹⁰ should be compared with the Beit Nattif lamp quoted, and others (unpublished) from the excavations at Beisān and Sabastiya; the same motif reappears on the Saronā relief (Pl. XLVI, 9).



FIG. 23

In Syria a bunch of grapes is represented by a triangle in flat relief;¹¹ similar clusters appear on a capital from Constantinople;¹² geometrical clusters are also one of the features of Parthian clay coffins;¹³ they appear on a late capital in the Hauran¹⁴ strangely similar to Assyrian prototypes (Fig. 23).



FIG. 24

In Jewish monuments in Palestine there is a marked preference for one particular type of cluster of grapes, viz. the type with a central bunch flanked by two smaller ones (Fig. 24), prototypes of which have been noted on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments. As examples one may adduce in the first century A.D. the façades of the 'Tombs of the Kings' at Jerusalem (Pl. XLIII, 1), at Maqāti' 'Ābūd (Fig. 25), the 'Grape Tomb' near the 'Tombs of the Judges' (Pl. XLIII, 5),¹⁵ and



FIG. 25

the 'Refuge of the Apostles'.¹⁶ The same type appears on coins of the Second Revolt¹⁷ and, in the third century, on the frieze of the Capernaum synagogue¹⁸ (Fig. 24). The late cancel-post from Beit Jibrin has the same type of cluster (Pl. XLIV, 2); it might

¹ Dunand, *Musée*, p. 64, No. 121 ('a good example of Nabataean sculpture in the Hauran').

² Kirk, *JPOS*, Vol. XVII, p. 209.

³ Horsfield, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, Pl. XLVI, Nos. 435, 436.

⁴ KW, p. 111.

⁵ Baramki, *QDAP*, Vol. V, Pl. VII, No. 2 (third century).

⁶ R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan, *PEFA*, Vol. IV, Pl. XXI, No. 14 (Byzantine).

⁷ Lassus, p. 127 and Pl. XXII, 2.

⁸ Seyrig, *Syria*, Vol. X, Pl. LXXXIV, 4.

⁹ Horsfield, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, p. 168, Fig. 22; p. 171, Fig. 25; Pls. XXXIII, XXXV, XLIX B, &c.

¹⁰ Contenau, *Syria*, Vol. I, Pl. XIII.

¹¹ At Selemye, *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 299.

¹² Mendel, Vol. III, No. 1239 (sixth to seventh century).

¹³ Andrae, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Pls. 43d, 49o.

¹⁴ R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, Pl. II, 3.

¹⁵ Macalister, *QSt.*, 1900, pp. 54-61.

¹⁶ Watz., Vol. II, Pl. 26, Fig. 61.

¹⁷ Hill, *B.M.C. Coins, Palestine*, Pls. XXXIV, 20, XXXV; Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, Nos. 177-9, 185-8.

¹⁸ *AS*, Pl. Va.

well have belonged to the local synagogue,¹ although the possibility cannot be excluded that it came from the ruins of the local church.² Such an agreement between extant Jewish examples makes it probable that we have here the reproduction in other media of the famous golden vinestock in the Second Temple,³ which most likely was itself constructed on an Oriental model. The Oriental inspiration of the type is still further confirmed by its appearance at Palmyra on the great portal of the Temple of Bel⁴ (first century A.D.) where the stylized execution of the surfaces of the clusters reminds B. Schulz of Oriental artisan traditions. The tradition in Syria persisted at least till A.D. 308, at which date it appears on a lintel from Kafr Nebo.⁵

The Assyrian leaf is as characteristic as the bunch of grapes: it is constructed on the basis of a five-pointed star with sharply cut folioles standing out in flat relief and the veins indicated by outstanding ridges⁶ (Fig. 26). A similar leaf occurs in the third century A.D. in the Chorazin synagogue (Pl. XLIV, 8), and on a contemporary lamp from Beit Nattif (Pl. XLIV, 3).⁷ Later examples are to be found in capitals from Kh. 'Attir (Pl. XLIV, 5), and the Hauran (Fig. 23, p. 150);⁸ at el Barah (fourth or fifth centuries)⁹ and Behioh (sixth century)¹⁰ in N. Syria.



FIG. 26

The Beisan fragment (Pl. XLII, 3) with its involved stem ending in a big bunch of grapes, which fills the whole centre of the spiral, is like a Sasanian (or Early Islamic?) ornament on pottery from Persia¹¹ and perhaps also part of the mosaic decoration of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem.¹²

IV. The representations of plants, especially *palm-trees*, on Jewish ossuaries (c. 100 B.C.–A.D. 150), furnish more links with Oriental art, especially with painted pottery of the Bronze and Iron Ages. In the following paragraphs a series of instances are listed, each with appropriate parallels from earlier periods and with occasional reference to later developments:

(i) The first example is from Deir Abu Tor (Pl. XLV, 1). It shows a tree with a straight trunk (which serves also as a partition of the two panels); the branches curve out symmetrically. The leaves on each branch are indicated by short upward strokes. With it should be compared a tree on a Late Bronze Age vase from Tell el 'Ajjul (Fig. 27)¹³ and in the Iron Age Assyrian reliefs of Assurnazirpal (Fig. 28)¹⁴ and graffiti on the Tell

¹ It was found built into a house together with a synagogue inscription, Sukenik, *JPOS*, Vol. X, Pl. VI.

² Abel, *RB*, 1924, pp. 592–600.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.*, XV, 11, 3; cf. *ibid.*, XIV, 3, 1.

⁴ *Palmyra*, p. 131 f.

⁵ *PAES*, Vol. II B, p. 294, Fig. 322.

⁶ See reff. on p. 149, nn. 6–8.

⁷ Baramki, *QDAP*, Vol. V, Pl. XI, No. 13.

⁸ R. Dussaud, F. Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, Pl. II, 3.

⁹ Vogüé, Pl. 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. 137.

¹¹ Pope, Vol. IV, Pl. 194 B.

¹² Creswell, Vol. I, Pls. 13a, 28–30.

¹³ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, Vol. I, Pl. 29, 6.

¹⁴ Danth., Vol. II, No. 39; Paterson, *Assyr. Sculptures*, Pls. XLVI–XLVII.

Jamma (Fig. 29)¹ and Gezer² limestone altars. Crosswise strokes occur also on a palm-tree at Beth She'arim (Cat. I, Hall 7).



FIG. 27

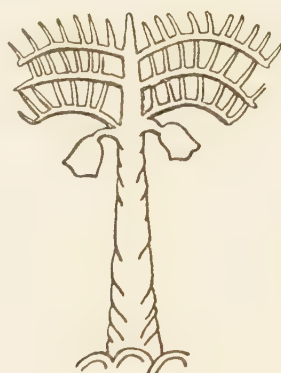


FIG. 28



FIG. 29

(ii) On another ossuary (Fig. 30) the branches are represented by semicircular alternate wavy and straight lines, descending on both sides of the trunk. A late survival of this convention occurs on a sixth-century lintel from Ma'asarti in Syria (Fig. 31).³



FIG. 30



FIG. 31



FIG. 32

(iii) The use of the zigzag line enclosed by two straight ones occurs also in the representation of a tree trunk on a third ossuary (Fig. 32), which has this decorative element in common with the preceding one as well as with the Tell Jamma altar mentioned above⁴ (Fig. 29). In the present case, however, the branches of the tree spread out upwards from the trunk in straight diagonal rays, fanwise. A similar instance occurs on another ossuary (Fig. 33)⁵ where three outspreading branches, decorated with leaves similarly arranged, fill the space left by the two rosettes. This fanwise arrangement of branches has parallels in Late Bronze and Iron Age vase decoration in Palestine.⁶ It occurs at Tell Halaf in the

¹ Petrie, *Gerar*, Pl. XL, 1.

² Gezer, Vol. II, p. 442.

³ Froment, *Syria*, Vol. XI, p. 287.

⁴ On the subject of the wavy line flanked by two straight ones see also below, Part D.

⁵ Gisler, *Das heilige Land*, 1935, p. 16.

⁶ Gezer, Vol. III, Pls. CLXVIII, 7; CLXXIII, 4, 6; Schumacher, *Tell el Mutesellim*, Vol. I, Fig. 54; May and Engberg, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, Pl. XLI A, G, K, J; Guy and Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs* (OIP 33), Pl. 19, 21.

second half of the second millennium¹ as the standard filling of superimposed rows of half-palmettes forming the 'sacred tree'.

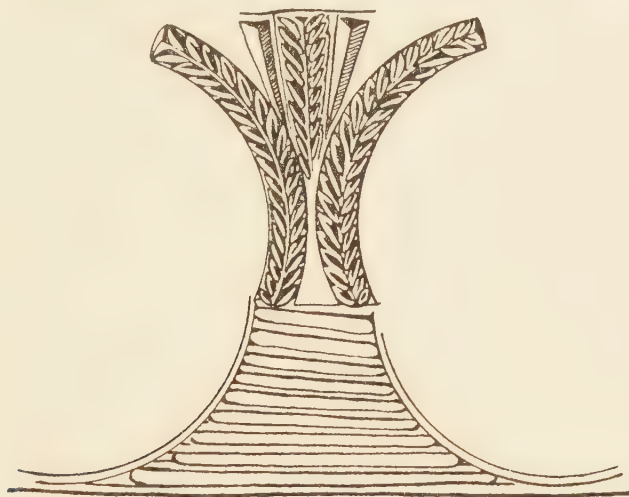


FIG. 33

(iv) The palm-tree on the ossuary represented in Fig. 34 has its trunk covered by a regular lozenge pattern.² It is obvious that this type of decoration has been suggested by the natural scaling of the palm trunk; as such it formed a congenial subject to the stylizing Oriental artist. Patterning of the trunk by simple or repeated chevrons occurs in several



FIG. 34



FIG. 35

instances at Susa.³ The closest parallel to the present ossuary is a Susan brick relief of the twelfth century B.C., on which a palm-tree is covered by a lozenge pattern and has an ornamental crown (Fig. 35).⁴ The lozenge pattern—usually degenerated into cross-hatching—occurs, e.g., on representations of trees on Sumerian examples;⁵ on Phoenician

¹ Danth., Vol. II, Nos. 257, 1127; cf. Virolleaud, *Syria*, Vol. V, Pl. XXIX, 3.

² H. Vincent, *RB*, 1907, p. 411.

³ *MDP*, Vol. XXV, p. 217 (Susa); Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 103.

⁴ *Eph.*, Vol. I, Pl. 279.

⁵ Cont., p. 644.

monuments, especially from Carthage;¹ in later periods on a Petra graffito;² at Dura-Europos³ and on a late Byzantine relief from Umm Kalak,⁴ as well as at Beth She'arim (Cat. I, Hall 7).

(v) The ossuaries (Pl. XLV, 2-3, Figs. 36-8) show as part of their decoration a series of pointed leaves on stalks. An earlier parallel is supplied by a Late Bronze Age vase from Tell Far'a (Fig. 39).⁵



FIG. 36



FIG. 37



FIG. 38



FIG. 39

(vi) In another case the central part has a plant composed of a vertical stalk with branches describing an upward curve (Pl. XLV, 5, Fig. 40).⁶ The same motif occurs on another ossuary (Fig. 41).⁷ This motif is based fundamentally on the superimposed palmettes found in Egyptian ornament.⁸ For closer parallels we may compare in the second



FIG. 40



FIG. 41



FIG. 42



FIG. 43

millennium a cylinder⁹ and a seal;¹⁰ in the first half of the first millennium a prism from the Alishar Hüyük (Fig. 42).¹¹ It occurs on Phoenician stelae from Carthage;¹² in Palestine on the Taanach altar;¹³ in Parthian Assur¹⁴ combined with a row of triple leaves (cf. p. 158). For monuments contemporary with the ossuaries we may compare a tomb north of

¹ CIS, Vol. I, Nos. 189, 196, 222, 1779, &c.

² BD, Vol. I, p. 249.

³ DE, Vol. VI, p. 128.

⁴ Lassus, Pl. XL.

⁵ J. L. Starkey and L. Harding, *Beth-Pelet*, Vol. II, Pl. LVIII, 972.

⁶ Sukenik, *Qobes*, p. 65.

⁷ Van der Vliet, *Ste Marie où elle est née*, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 198-9.

⁸ Danth., Vol. II, Nos. 984, 1081, 1127.

⁹ Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of W. Asia*, p. 269, Fig. 804e.

¹⁰ Delaporte, *Catal. d. cylindres . . . de style oriental*, Vol. II, Pl. 105, No. 25.

¹¹ V. d. Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia*, 1930-31 (OIC, No. 14), p. 33 (No. c 2581).

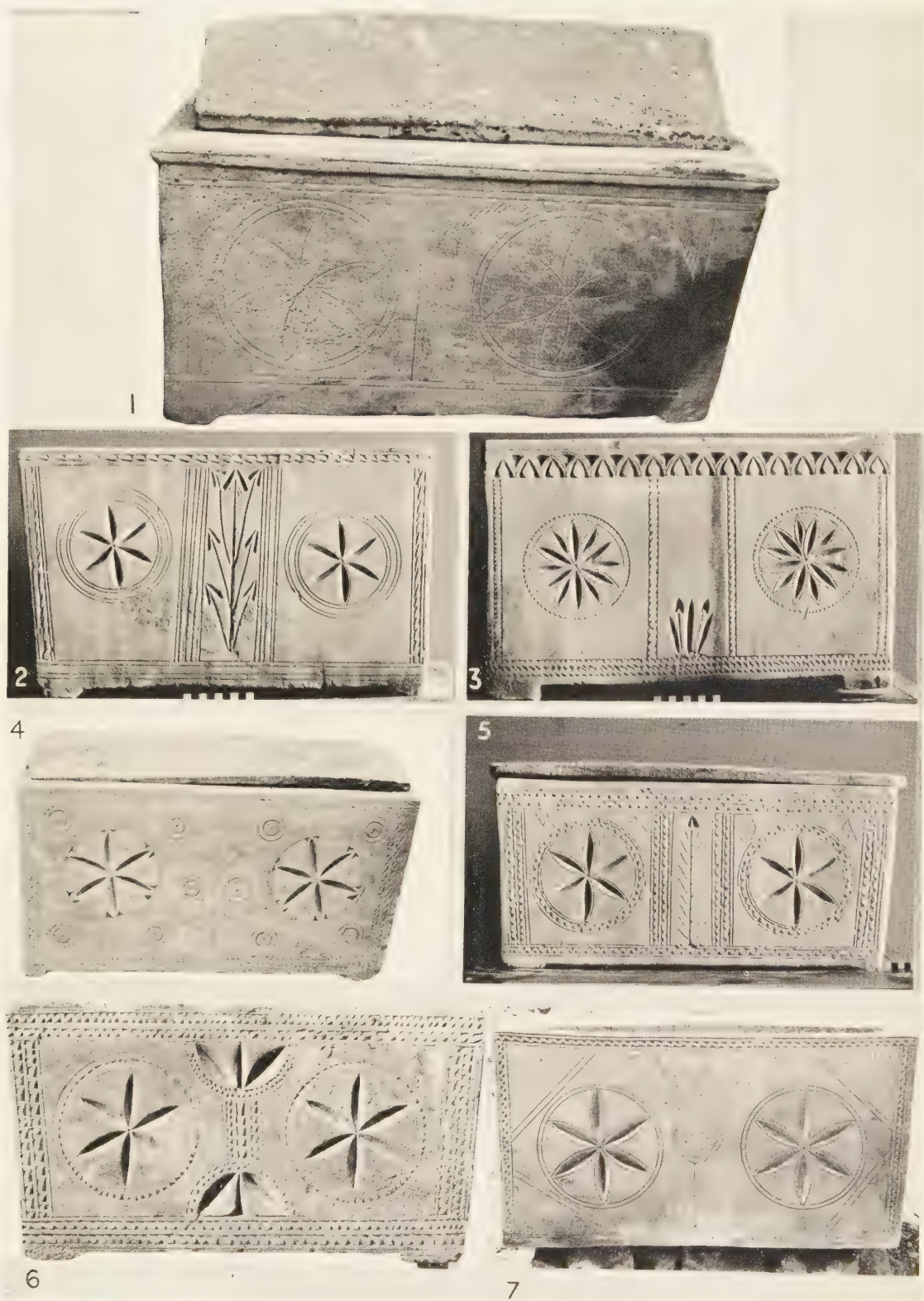
¹² CIS, Vol. I, Nos. 1025, 1732, 2177.

¹³ Thiersch, *AA*, 1907, col. 345.

¹⁴ Andrae, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Pls. 17 f., 20 f.



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART



1



2



4-5



3



6

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART

Jerusalem¹ where this motif merges into the common Greek honeysuckle ornament.² Following Van de Vliet we are in this particular instance able to show a continuation of this motif in Byzantine times (Fig. 43),³ a view further confirmed by a series of examples from Syria extending from the second⁴ to the sixth century.⁵

(vii) The ossuary (Fig. 44) shows a palm-tree standing over a double row of zigzags framed in straight lines; the crown is formed by two semicircles, one descending from the top of the trunk, the other ascending above it. This semicircle is repeated below the base. Such symmetrical repetition of the design of the crown below the trunk occurs in several painted vases; it has been interpreted either as the reflection of the tree in water or as the representation of two trees spread out before the spectator in the conceptual manner of old maps. We may compare two well-known vases from Gezer, in one of which there is simple doubling of the theme⁶ and in the other quadruplication.⁷ Other explanations suggest themselves, however. The doubling of the crown may be a manner of representing the top of a palm, with the central leaves still upright, while the lower ones are descending. A similar convention appears on a Late Bronze Age vase from Tell Far'a (Fig. 45).⁸ The leaves or branches at the bottom of the tree may be interpreted as

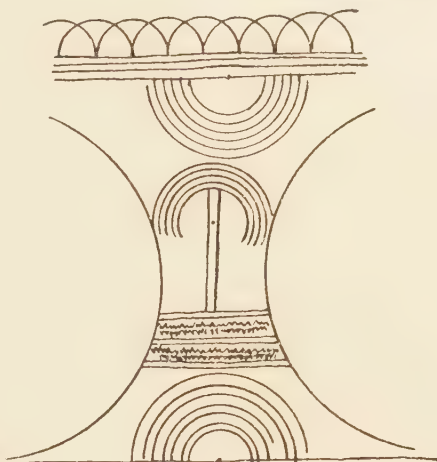


FIG. 44



FIG. 45



FIG. 46



FIG. 47



FIG. 48

the ground-leaves of a palm-tree.⁹ This interpretation is supported by the representations of a doubled plant which appear sometimes on ossuaries (Pl. XLV, 4, 6; Fig. 46), and in which the ground leaves are indicated or the crown symmetrically repeated. On the

¹ Macalister, *QSt.*, 1900, pp. 57-61.

² Cf. *QDAP*, Vol. IV, p. 94; in third century see at Keraza, KW, pp. 30-1.

³ Van de Vliet, *op. cit.*, p. 198; reproduced also in Vincent and Abel, *Jérus. nouvelle*, Pl. LXIX, 8.

⁴ Lassus, p. 6; Nabataean ornament at Bosra, *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 218.

⁵ Babiska (390); *PAES*, Vol. II B, p. 166 M; Deir Sanbil (418), Vogüé, Pl. 151; Surkanya, *PAES*, Vol. II B, p. 327; Qasr el Banat, *ibid.*, 220; Ijaz (429), *ibid.*, p. 85; cf. Lassus, Pl. XIV and the Sinai capitals (548-65), Lagrange, *RB*, 1897, p. 111.

⁶ Gezer, Vol. III, Pl. CLXXIII, 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 4.

⁸ J. L. Starkey and L. Harding, *Beth Pelet*, Vol. II, Pl. LXIII, No. 41.

⁹ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Vol. I, Pls. 3, 278 (XVIIIth Dyn.).

other hand it might also represent the root. There are Byzantine lamps from Ophel in which a plant is shown with a circular root;¹ still earlier some decorations on Carthaginian stelae² have the same convention. In the 'Abda painting (Fig. 47)³ we find representations of palm-trees with their roots indicated. Similar instances occur on pottery from Tell el 'Ajjul (Fig. 48).⁴ It is possible, therefore, that the double crown of the tree on the ossuaries may represent a return to the primitive mental image of a tree consisting of leaves, trunk, and roots, the latter being shown in the picture, although invisible in nature. Two semicircles joined by a vertical line occur on another ossuary and may be interpreted similarly.⁵

(viii) In the ossuary (Pl. XLV, 7) the liliaceous plant is cut in half in a 'conceptual' manner.

Mention should be made in this connexion of the palm branch, which appears in Oriental art of all periods from the Chalcolithic (Tuleilat Ghassul)⁶ downwards, usually as a simple herring-bone pattern. In Sumer it is the symbol of the god of vegetation;⁷ later on a precursor or a simplification of the 'sacred tree'.⁸ In Jewish art the palm branch appears as the *lulab*,⁹ in Roman times on altars¹⁰ and sarcophagi. In the Byzantine period¹¹—apart from the well-known martyr's palm branches—it served as a fertility symbol.¹² It appears on hundreds of clay lamps, in some cases representing the degenerate form of a candlestick.¹³

V. A matter connected with plant ornament (though not actually a motif of vegetable origin) is the knot which appears on the common representations of wreaths bound with



FIG. 49



FIG. 50

fillets. The wreath occurs on architectural ornaments, sarcophagi, &c., in hundreds of cases and is in itself of little interest. It usually ends in a ribbon, bound sometimes with a knot.¹⁴ There are two types of such knots: the Occidental bow-knot which is a decorative

¹ R. A. S. Macalister and T. G. Duncan, *PEFA*, Vol. IV, Pl. XXI, 9.

² *CIS*, Vol. I, 2173, 2182.

³ Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent, *RB*, 1905, Pls. VI-VII.

⁴ Petrie, *Ancient Gaza*, Vol. III, Pl. XLI, 7.

⁵ Vincent, *RB*, 1907, p. 411.

⁶ A. Mallon, R. Koepfel, and R. Neuville, *Teleilat Ghassul*, Vol. I, Pl. 65, 5.

⁷ *Cont.*, p. 624.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1316. Cf. Danth., Vol. II, *passim*; also the Late Bronze Age cylinder seal from Tell Abu Hawwam, Hamilton, *QDAP*, Vol. IV, Pl. XXVI, No. 415.

⁹ Cf. Maisler, *Excavations at Beth-Shearim*, Jerusalem, 1940, p. 13 of the Hebrew text and ossuary PAM, No. 36. 919 (Pl. XLV, 1); on Jewish coins, Hill, *BMC, Palestine*, Pl. XXV.

¹⁰ Qadas, Clermont-Ganneau, *QSt.*, 1903, p. 132; at Dura, *FDE*, Pl. LXXXVI, *DE*, Vol. V, Pls. XXXIV, 1, XXXVII, 2; *DPPA*, p. 248; for palms below shrines cf. *QDAP*, Vol. X, p. 141.

¹¹ Cf. the tomb at Qaluniya, Schick, *QSt.*, 1887, p. 54; for Syria, see Burrows, *MFOB*, Vol. XVI, pp. 28 f.; Lassus, p. 198. On Christian tombstones in Trans-Jordan, Alt, *ZDPV*, 1928, Pl. 16, No. 6 (582/3); Frank, *ibid.*, 1934, Pl. 24 B.

¹² Burrows, *MFOB*, Vol. XVI, pp. 28 ff.

¹³ Gezer, Vol. II, p. 227; Vol. III, Pl. CLXXXVIII.

¹⁴ E. G. Altmann, *Römische Grabaltäre*, p. 185.

element (Fig. 49) and the indissoluble Oriental 'Hercules' knot (Fig. 50) which has an apotropaic significance.¹

The former occurs in several instances in the West and occasionally also in Palestine: e.g. on an ossuary (Fig. 49) and even as late as the paintings in Christian tombs at Beit Jibrin² and Qaluniya.³ In a few other instances in Palestine the ribbon is only wound around the wreath without being knotted;⁴ in other cases both ends are loosely crossed without forming a knot properly speaking.

The vast majority of wreaths in Palestine have, however, a figure-of-eight knot or variants thereof. Not all representations are sufficiently clear to establish the nature of the knot. It appears to belong to the variety technically known as reef-knot, mesh-knot, or double bend, used in joining hawsers, or in the case of a wreath, the two ends of the ribbon. Sometimes there is a variant known as the single or double carrick bend (Fig. 50 a, b).



FIG. 50 a



FIG. 50 b

The 'Hercules' knot occurs on Jewish monuments⁵ but is not restricted to them. Pagan examples of the second or third century are equally numerous.⁶ The survival of this type of knot into Byzantine times is attested by several monuments in Palestine⁷ and Syria,⁸ whence it spread to the West⁹ also.

(b) *Elements derived from the Local Flora*

As in the case of animal ornament (see p. 145 above) a short account should be given of the new subjects introduced by the Oriental artist into plant ornament. The case of plant ornament is, however, somewhat different, for there is a distinctive Oriental fauna, while the flora of Greece and the Near East are roughly identical. The criterion must therefore be sought not in the employment of new plants in ornament but in the propor-

¹ KW, p. 190; *RAP*, p. 213; Orfali, p. 92.

² W. J. Moulton, *AASOR*, Vol. II/III, Pl. 4, opp. p. 103.

³ Schick, *QSt.*, 1887, p. 54, Fig. 6.

⁴ Cf. also the Beisān relief, *SWP*, Vol. II, p. 113.

⁵ Nabratein (KW, p. 103); Keraza (Pl. XLVI, 1); Kafr Bir'im (KW, p. 90); Nawa (Reifenberg, *Denkm.*, Pl. 35); Tiberias (Orfali, p. 93); Şafşāf lintel.

⁶ Lintels: Burj Lisan (Pl. XLVI, 2); sarcophagi: Umm es Zeinat, inscribed ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΥ (Pl. XLVII, 2); Jifna (Pl. XLVII, 6); esh-Shawahid in the 'Ajlun (Steuernagel, *ZDPV*, 1925, p. 272); Sabastiya, third century (Hamilton, *QDAP*, Vol. VIII, Pl. XXXIX, 5), where its position below a Medusa head assures its apotropaic significance. Possibly pagan (Nabataean?) the Kh. Bardhun relief (*PAES*, Vol. I A, p. 26); Samad (Steuernagel, *ZDPV*, 1926, p. 42); in Syria cf. in the second century *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 313 from Inkhil, and *Palmyra*, p. 95; in the third century Renan, *Mission*, Pl. XLV from Sidon; on a statue of Dusares, Virolleaud, *Syria*, Vol. V, Pl. XX, 2. For a Sasanian parallel see Pope, Vol. I, p. 604.

⁷ Panels at Kh. Khisfin (Oliphant, *QSt.*, 1885, p. 88) and Sarona (Pl. XLVI, 9); tomb at Shafa 'Amr (Fig. 1, p. 130, and Ronzevalle, *MFOB*, Vol. III, Pl. XVII). On capitals Weigand, *BZ*, 1914/19, p. 199 f.

⁸ Fifth century A.D.: Baalbek (*Baalbek*, Vol. II, p. 139); fifth to sixth: Betursa (Vogüé, Pl. 43); sixth: Turmamin (*Ibid.*, Pl. 136); Lassus, p. 38; *PAES*, Vol. III A, No. 796²; *ibid.*, Vol. III B, No. 952.

⁹ Laurent, *BCH*, 1899, pp. 247, 256.

tion of each kind of plant to the number of extant examples as a whole. Both Greeks and Orientals (Egyptian and Mesopotamian) used in their ornament the vine, pomegranate, palm, and olive, to mention only a few characteristic cases. However, by the Hellenistic period the repertoire of the Greek artist had been refined into an almost exclusive reliance on the palmette and the acanthus.¹ In the Orient, however, local flora is employed as an ornament from the first century A.D. at least, even in the decoration of buildings of a generally classical character. It has been already suggested that in such cases the planning of the whole structure was in the hands of Greek or Hellenized architects, while the execution of the decorative details was left to the local workmen, who followed their own traditions. Such is the case, for example, with the portals of the temple of Bel at Palmyra.² The flora there represented bears much resemblance to the roughly contemporary sarcophagus from the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem, now at the Louvre.³ The new elements derived from local flora are also employed on a more modest scale on the façades of the Tombs of the Kings (Pl. XLIII, 1) and the Tombs of the Judges at Jerusalem⁴ and on ossuaries.⁵ In the latter case the notching technique employed was particularly favourable to the olive garland formed either by placing bunches of three leaves placed one after the other or from a central stalk with pairs of leaves distributed symmetrically on both sides, such as occurs on the Louvre coffin as well as in later lead coffins.⁶

The capital from Kh. el Farwa near Nablus (Pl. XLVI, 7) has a collar of leaves which recalls Nabataean ornament. The Nabataeans show in their ornament a preference for a decorative garland of thin leaves (reduced to almost a herring-bone pattern) placed symmetrically on both sides of a central stalk. This ornament appears painted on pottery,⁷ and carved on a capital from 'Abda (Pl. XLVI, 6);⁸ a variant occurs on a chancel screen post from Beit Jibrin (Pl. XLVI, 3).

The employment of the different plants on Oriental monuments for their symbolic value has been amply discussed⁹ and may be mentioned here by the way only.

(c) *Oriental influences as a Factor of Stylization*

The evolution of ornament from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine period represents in the main the transformation of the classical ornament inherited from ancient Greece into the arabesque. The latter, with its blend of an overwhelming richness of effect with a strictly geometrical framework, is the quintessence of all Oriental ornament. However, before the complete transition could be accomplished from the sober and restrained classical ornament to the luxuriant growth of the arabesque, a long process of evolution had to be completed, in which several stages may be discerned. This movement represents in reality two parallel streams. One is based on a desire for richer and more splendid decoration. It may be explained by the decline of the standards of taste in the Hellenistic period, a decline which went hand in hand with the increasing material prosperity of the

¹ Riegl, *St.*, p. 208 f.

² B. Schulz, *Palmyra*, p. 61.

³ Dussaud, *Mon.*, p. 42.

⁴ Watz., Vol. II, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶ *JHS*, 1930, p. 308 and *QDAP*, Vol. IV, Pls. LVI, LVII.

⁷ Horsfield, *QDAP*, Vol. IX, pp. 184, 186, Pls. XXXVI, XLI, XLII, XLIX A.

⁸ Wiegand, *Sinai*, p. 91.

⁹ Löw, *Flora der Juden*, Vol. IV, pp. 365-78, KW, pp. 185-8; *RAP*, p. 212 f.; *JHS*, 1930, p. 302.

age. A loss of belief in traditional religion was, as usual, accompanied by the endeavour to cover the emptiness of the contents by complications of form. One of the means used to overwhelm the spectator was a luxuriant profusion of decoration which exploits every inch of the available surface. These tendencies blossom out freely in the architectural ornament of the second century A.D. at Baalbek and Palmyra; they are reflected in the third century in the rich ornament of the Galilaean synagogues, and they survive in the fourth-century decoration of the casket of Count Namosas¹ and even in the earliest Moslem buildings in Palestine and Syria.

The other tendency can be more properly defined as stylization—a movement in which close reproduction of nature is subordinated to considerations of ornament. As has been observed by Riegl² the value of stylization for the study of influences of one art upon another lies in the fact that each variation of style represents but one possible way (to exclusion of all others) of transforming the freedom of nature into ornamental strictness. In stylized ornament the irregular growth of plants, determined by innumerable minute factors of sun, soil, wind, and water, is made to follow geometrical curves. The artist endeavours to fill a given space in a manner agreeable to the taste of his period, regardless of whether the result corresponds to nature.

From the third century onwards a desert wind seems to blow on ornament in Palestine and Syria. The forms become dry and spare, curves are turned into zigzags, angles become acute, leaves are cut into sharp patterns, fruit is given geometric forms. This tendency, although not universal at any given period, is, nevertheless, unmistakable.

As examples of this anti-naturalistic geometrizing tendency we may take the vine-scroll and the garland-ribbon. Owing to the comparatively large number of examples preserved these are the two most promising fields of investigation.

(i) In dealing with the *vine scroll* we have to distinguish from the point of view of composition two ornamental possibilities, the free and the confined.

In the first case the field to be decorated allows the scroll to form a trellis by spreading over a large surface, such as a mosaic pavement, a dome or the tympanum of an architrave, or even the cover of a lead coffin. In the second case the field confines the development of the scroll within a space limited by architectural considerations; such limitations being imposed on the artist and not the product of his own restraint. This is particularly the case with door-jambs, lintels, arches, chancel-posts, lamps, &c. In all these the space left for the decoration is oblong, straight, or curved and the artist has to fit his design into it.

A 'free' field obviously invites a naturalistic composition. It allows the artist to spread the branches, leaves, tendrils, and grapes as he chooses and to give them any form he prefers. If, instead, he prefers to give his branches a geometrical pattern, such as a series of circles, there is a clear conflict between his opportunity and the use he makes of it. Greek artists and even Roman artists working in Africa spread their vine-branches irregularly over the pavement as a rule; on the other hand, in Byzantine times in the East we have a trellis developing in set circles,³ while on Parthian coffins the tendency is to an angular shape.⁴

¹ Dussaud, *Mon.*, p. 90.

² *St.*, p. xiv.

³ Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements*, p. 80; id., *QDAP*, Vol. V, p. 19 f.; Hinks, *B.M. Catalogue, Paintings and Mosaics*, p. liii f.

⁴ Andrae, *Die Partherstadt Assur*, Pls. 34 d and 49 o.

In confined spaces, stylization is more natural. Nevertheless, such examples as the Lateran pillar¹ and many tomb steles show how naturalistic effects can be produced even in an enclosed space.² It is in the East that we note a progressive stiffening of the scroll winding within a restricted space. There is a transition from comparatively realistic forms of the scroll to geometric shapes, at first circular but approaching later on more and more to a rectilinear pattern.

While this complex process, with the corresponding changes in the form of the subsidiary decorative elements, such as grapes, leaves, tendrils, &c., does not work itself out fully till the sixth century A.D., its antecedents date back to the first century in the Nabataean kingdom and the second or third in the Jewish parts of Palestine. This does not imply, by any means, that Hellenistic naturalism was ever completely eliminated in these areas. The late Shafa 'Amr tomb³ shows a combination of a free-running trellis with formalized leaves and grapes. The Umayyad fragments from Kh. el Mafjar, at present at Jericho, are quite free and naturalistic.



FIG. 51

The stiffening of the vine scroll, the forerunner of Oriental formalism, may be observed on the Nabataean monuments from Si' (Fig. 51) (33/32 B.C.).⁴ The reliefs on the tomb tower are the most remarkable of these, because here the field was spacious and the artist was not forced into formalism by a confined area. Nevertheless, he imparts a certain angularity to the trellis. A similar phenomenon may be observed on a monument from Sur⁵ and at Damat el 'Alya.⁶ To find a parallel for such angularity we must descend to a late relief from Ramle (Pl. XL, 8).⁷

On elongated and confined surfaces the formalization is naturally still more in evidence. Scrolls of a geometrically regular, wavy shape occur from the third century onwards, e.g. on synagogue reliefs from Kh. Kanaf (Fig. 52), Keraza (Pl. XLIV, 8) and el Hammām,⁸ on the Beit Jibrīn chancel post (Pl. XLIV, 2), on the Umm Jimāl stone door,⁹ on fragments from Sarona (Pl. XLIV, 7), and elsewhere. This type of circular scroll had a long career in medieval decoration. An interesting example of the use of the round scroll to fill the border of a circle occurs at Behiōh in Syria.¹⁰

The angular shape of the grape-vine can be traced as early as the Alexander sarcophagus from Sidon (fourth century B.C.).¹¹ This, undoubtedly the product of a Greek artist working in Phoenicia, betrays in such details the hand of an Oriental assistant. The angular vine appears in the second- or third-century lamps found at Beit Nattīf (Pl. XLIV, 4); but the same workshop continued to produce lamps decorated with round

¹ Riegl, *Spätröm. Kunstindustrie*, p. 137.

² Cf. also the Palmyrene decoration (third century), *Palmyra*, pp. 73, 95, and the temenos from Deir Smeñj, *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 353, Fig. 317.

³ See p. 130, Fig. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 429.

⁵ R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission en Syrie moyenne*, Pl. III.

⁶ *AR*, Vol. II, p. 120.

⁷ Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1897, p. 159.

⁸ Vogüé, Pl. 137.

⁹ Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Nécropole royale à Sidon*, Pl. XXVI.

¹⁰ *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 376.

¹¹ Sukenik, *JPOS*, Vol. XV, Pls. XIV, XXI.

scrolls or even scrolls winding more or less freely.¹ The angular vine occurs at nearly the same time at the el-Jish synagogue² (Fig. 53) although in an imperfect form and on the Jewish friezes from Kh. Yemma and Beit Jann (Fig. 54).³ The lamps from Ophel⁴ and the Saron relief (Pl. XLVI, 9) show the survival of the type into later periods. In Syria



FIG. 52



FIG. 53



FIG. 54

the earliest dated examples of the angular vine are somewhat later than in Palestine, viz. the Bshindelinteh portal (third-fourth century);⁵ the Kerratin lintel (A.D. 474/5).⁶ At et-Tūbā (sixth century)⁷ and Qaṣr Ibn Wardān (564)⁸ the angularity reaches extreme forms. The survey of the Ḥama region, undertaken by M. Lassus, has shown the almost exclusive domination of the angular shape of the grape-vine in the remoter regions of Syria from the fifth century onwards.⁹



FIG.
55



FIG.
56

We have dealt so far with the transformation of the scroll into a zigzag line. In a variation of the same development the zigzag is replaced by alternating straight and diagonal lines (Figs. 55, 56). The earliest example of this occurs in the synagogues at Capernaum (Fig. 55),¹⁰ Kafr Bir'im (Pl. XLIV, 1), and Umm el Qanātīr;¹¹ possibly earlier is the lead coffin from Mahalib, dated to the third century A.D.¹² The stylization of this type of ornament reaches its peak in the fifth century at Qal'at Sim'an (Fig. 56).¹³ Here the tendrils prolonging the horizontal arms of the grape-vine should be noted.

It has been pointed out above that the general trend in representations of the vine scroll was away from realism and towards stylization. One exception should be noted in concluding this chapter. Having once adopted a decorative arrangement, the Palestinian

¹ Baramki, *QDAP*, Vol. V, Pls. VI, 2; XI, 15.

³ Saaristo, *Boundary between Issachar and Naphtali*, pp. 135, 138.

⁴ *PEFA*, Vol. IV, p. xxi; *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 91.

⁵ *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 82.

⁶ *PAES*, Vol. II B, p. 78.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III B, No. 908.

⁹ Lassus, pp. 111, 126-7; Pls. XVI, XXII, 2.

¹¹ *KW*, p. 130.

¹² Virolleaud, *Syria*, Vol. V, p. 46, Pl. XVI; cf. *QDAP*, Vol. IV, pp. 141, 148.

² *KW*, p. 111, Fig. 217.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22, Fig. 20 a.

¹⁰ Orfali, p. 59.

¹³ Vogüé, Pl. 146.

and Syrian artist usually followed it to its logical conclusion and in designing a scroll of grape-vine along a horizontal line placed the bunches of grapes also horizontally following the winding line of the stem. In one case, in the Qasyūn synagogue (Fig. 57), the bunches of grapes grow straight *upwards*, away from the vase below, in order to follow the movement of the rising scroll.¹ However, on the lead coffin from Hederah (second or third century, Pl. XLIV, 6) and the third century friezes of the Kafr Bir'im (Pl. XLIV, 1)² and es Samu' synagogues³ as well as on the still later examples at Qarātiya⁴ and on a lintel from Barbara, the bunches of grapes hang down vertically from a horizontal stem. We must here assume the influence of the metope arrangement on tomb façades of the third century, where bunches of grapes are used to fill the friezes, e.g. the Tomb of Kings (Pl. XLIII, 1) and 'Refuge of the Apostles'⁵ at Jerusalem, and the tomb at Maqāṭi' 'Ābūd (Fig. 25, p. 150). The Syrian parallels are again much later, viz. at Bshindelinteh (third-fourth century),⁶ at Khanāzīr (sixth century)⁷ and at Abu Ḥabba (A.D. 566).⁸ Another instance of Oriental influences has been noted by M. Dussaud who remarks on the Himyarite or Sabaeen influences on the floral decoration of a second- or third-century relief found at Ascalon.⁹



FIG.

57

The relation of the formalized ornament of the tie-beam decoration of the Dome of the Rock to the sarcophagi in the Tombs of Kings and the Herodian Nicophoria tomb has been noted by K. A. C. Creswell.¹⁰

(ii) Next we may note the crosswise arrangement of four leaves or fleurons. It appears in the first century on an ossuary (Pl. XLVI, 4-5), in the second at Inkhil at Syria,¹¹ in the third as one of the filling ornaments in the Zodiac panel from the synagogue at Kafr Bir'im (Pl. XLVI, 8) and at Capernaum,¹² in the fourth- or fifth-century synagogue screen from Ascalon,¹³ in mosaic pavements,¹⁴ Palmyrene and Coptic sculpture,¹⁵ Syrian church ornament,¹⁶ and Umayyad stone sculpture.¹⁷

(iii) The flowing ribbons usually associated with wreaths furnish another example of the gradual progress of Palestinian art from naturalism to stylization. The sarcophagus from Jifna (Pl. XLVII, 6) and the wreath from Tiberias (Fig. 50, p. 156)¹⁸ show a realistic representation of the garland ribbons. This persists in isolated instances as late as the

¹ KW, p. 211.² *Ibid.*, p. 94.³ L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg, *JPOS*, Vol. XIX, Pl. XXX, 2.⁴ *SWP*, Vol. III, p. 277.⁶ *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 82.⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296.⁵ Watz., Vol. II, Pl. 26, Fig. 61.⁸ Lassus, p. 50.⁹ Dussaud, *Mon.*, No. 80.¹⁰ *Early Moslem Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 87 f.¹¹ *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 313.¹² *AS*, Pl. IV b.¹³ Reifenberg, *Denkm. d. jüd. Antike*, Pl. 29.¹⁴ Avi-Yonah, *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, p. 4, for the general arrangements of such fleurons; particular examples occur on the recently discovered pavements from 'Ein Kārim and Tell es Samak (see n. 17 below).¹⁵ Drioton, p. 39, Figs. 16, 23.¹⁶ *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 33, Nos. 9, 20.¹⁷ Hamilton, *QDAP*, Vol. XII, p. 10.¹⁸ Orfali, p. 93.

Byzantine period, e.g. the paintings at Beit Jibrīn.¹ In the third century we may observe the beginning of a transformation. The naturalistic ribbon becomes a kind of plant, sprouting with various curves and windings from the wreath it is supposed to bind, and ending in leaves. The reliefs from the synagogue at Capernaum² and one from Beisān³ show the ribbon-plant ending in a trilobe (Fig. 58). Other examples have a simple curve



FIG. 58

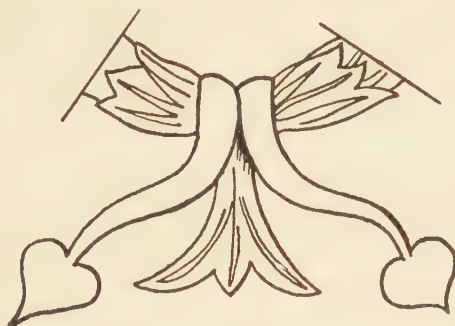


FIG. 59

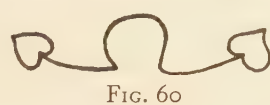


FIG. 60



FIG. 61

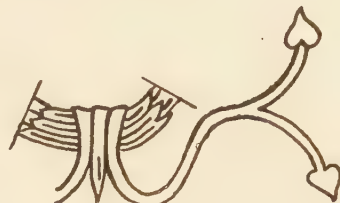


FIG. 62

ending in a pointed leaf. This is the case in the Gaza synagogue column (Fig. 59),⁴ at Madaba⁵ and in a Byzantine panel from a chancel screen found at Beisān (Pl. XLVII, 4).

Sometimes the 'ribbon' ends in bunches of grapes, e.g. on the Umm ez Zeināt sarcophagus (Pl. XLVII, 2) and the Nawa relief,⁶ the former probably pagan, the latter undoubtedly Jewish. With these one should compare in Syria the second-century relief from the Inkhil palace⁷ and the sixth-century relief from el Umtaiya.⁸ In a chancel screen

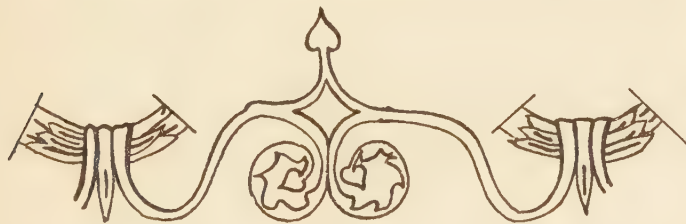


FIG. 63

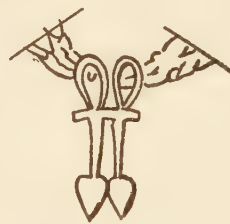


FIG. 64

found at Beersheba⁹ and several Syrian examples¹⁰ (Fig. 60) the ribbon begins to curve upwards. In the Ramle lintel (Fig. 61)¹¹ the ends form a clear curve. To this stage belong the fifth- to seventh-century chancel screens from Asia Minor, Constantinople, and the West, published by Laurent and others.¹² Other screens from Jerusalem (Fig. 62)¹³ and Beisān (Pl. XLVII, 5) show the winding ribbon splitting into two ends, sometimes finished off by a pointed leaf. Another example (Fig. 63)¹⁴ adds a lower acanthus leaf.

¹ W. J. Moulton, *AASOR*, Vols. II/III, Pl. 4, facing p. 103.

² Orfali, pp. 58, 91.

³ *SWP*, Vol. II, 113.

⁴ *AR*, Vol. II, p. 393.

⁵ Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1895, p. 120, Fig. 7.

⁶ Reifenberg, *Denkm.*, Pl. 34.

⁷ *PAES*, Vol. II A, Fig. 285, after p. 314.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93; Schumacher, *ZDPV*, 1897, p. 142.

⁹ Woolley and Lawrence, *PEFA*, Vol. III, p. 107.

¹⁰ *PAES*, Vol. III A, No. 213.

¹¹ *AR*, Vol. II, p. 120.

¹² *BCH*, 1899, pp. 246 ff.; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Églises de Constantinople*, p. 157; H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin*, Vol. II, Pls. 28 a, 29 a (Ravenna).

¹³ Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 285; Williams, *QSt.*, 1913, p. 181.

¹⁴ Mader, *ZDPV*, 1930, Pl. 10, and Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 178.

The Jewish synagogue screen from Isdud¹ has a ribbon sprouting into several richly developed leaves and follows in this respect Christian prototypes.²



FIG. 65

This is the general line of the stylization of the 'ribbon'. There are several variants: in the painted Byzantine tomb at Qaluniya³ the cross-lines end in a bow with straight ribbon reproducing an *ankh* or a cross of St. Anthony (Fig. 64). In Syria there is an example of the wreath reduced in scale while the curved ribbons become the essential part of the ornament⁴ (Fig. 65). The

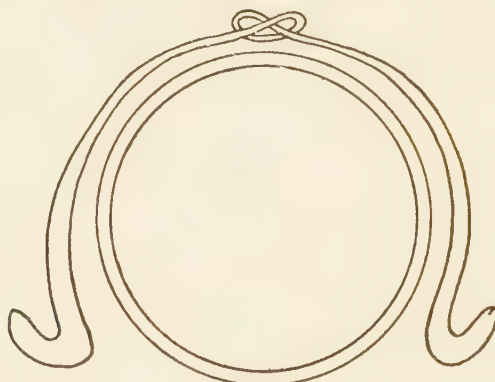


FIG. 66

development of another variant can be noted in three monuments, each separated from the next by several centuries. The Jewish tomb at el Jish (Pl. XLVII, 3)⁵ shows pendant ribbons curving down from tops of wreaths. In a rough sixth-century stone found at Suḥmāta⁶ (Pl. XLVII, 1) the wreath becomes a circle, and the straight pendants end in round blobs. In a (perhaps early Arab?) relief from Kafr Lam⁷ the pendants curve



FIG. 67

again round a circular ornamented disk (Fig. 66), but the elaborate knot is divorced from the circle and thus deprived of all meaning. These three monuments should be compared to a circle with ribbons on a Persepolis relief⁸ and a lotus-bud on a Phoenician stele from Carthage⁹ showing left and right two upcurving stems ending in round blobs. Both appear to copy the globe flanked by an uraeus on Egyptian and Phoenician monuments, which motif survived till the age of the Antonines (Fig. 67).¹⁰

(iii) The stylization of plant ornament is further exemplified by the combination of several species into one ornament, connected organically. Such combinations illustrate

¹ KW, p. 160.

² In Syria: el Uber, *PAES*, Vol. II A, p. 427, and Falul, *ibid.*, Vol. II B, p. 95 (A.D. 526), where the ribbon is transformed into a long scroll with leaves.

³ Schick, *QSt.*, 1887, p. 54.

⁴ Lassus, p. 3.

⁵ A rough design of the complete sarcophagus is published *SWP*, Vol. I, p. 224.

⁶ *QDAP*, Vol. III, Pl. XXVI, 2.

⁷ Oliphant, *QSt.*, 1886, p. 13.

⁸ Sarre, *Die Kunst des Alten Persiens*, Pl. 13; Cont., p. 1445.

⁹ *CIS*, Vol. I, No. 2129.

¹⁰ Renan, *Mission*, Pl. LV; Cont., p. 1469 f.

ORIENTAL ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN ART, II

the desire of the Oriental artist for decorative effect, even if divorced from verisimilitude. Cases in point are the combination of the acanthus and pomegranates on the 'Nicanor' ossuary¹ and the Tomb of Kings,² of various fruits and a scroll in the Tomb of Judges (a combination repeated in Coptic monuments).³ The survival of this tradition into the fourth century is exemplified by the synagogue screen from el Ḥammām,⁴ where an acanthus scroll is combined with pomegranates and grapes. In Nabataean carvings found in Syria the vine and pomegranate are also combined.⁵

M. AVI-YONAH.

(To be concluded)

¹ Watz., Vol. II, Pl. 30, Fig. 70.

² Cf. also the various fruits issuing from a scroll on a sarcophagus from these tombs, Creswell, Vol. I, p. 87 f.

³ Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, p. 48, No. 7306.

⁴ Sukenik, *JPOS*, Vol. XV, Pl. XIV.

⁵ *AAES*, Vol. II, p. 317.

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE, 1943-6

'Ein el Ma'mudiya and Khirbat ed Deir

(École biblique et archéologique française; directed by P. R. de Vaux, O.P.)

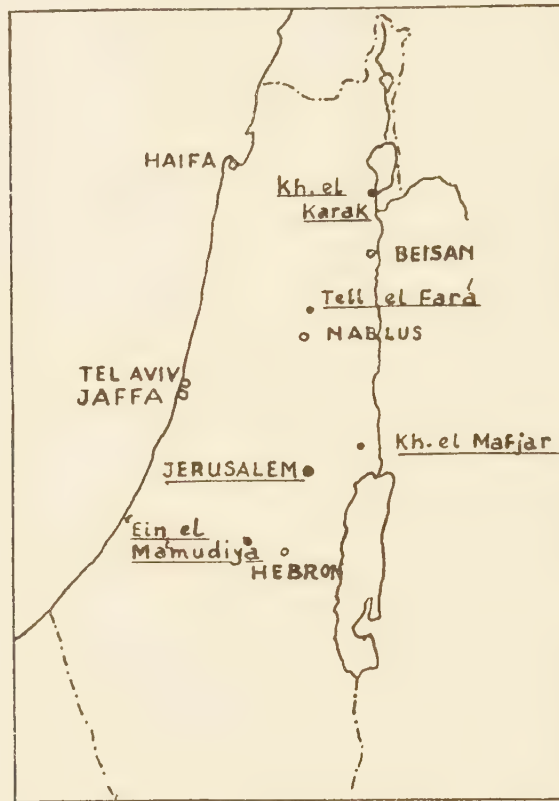


FIG. 1. Excavations in Palestine

THESE twin sites are situated *c.* 1 km. south-west of Taffuh (Hebron sub-district). They were cleared on 8-11 April 1946.

At *'Ein el Ma'mudiya* are the remains of a baptismal chapel (8.40 by 4.95 m.). The entrance is from the north; an arched window (completely preserved) opens in the apse which has a depth of 1.75 m. Water was supplied to a sunk font from a spring in the hill through a masonry tunnel in the south wall. On the east side of the font four descending steps are discernible. An inscribed lintel was found near the chapel on the north bank of Wadi Ma'mudiya. Apparently it belonged to the entrance of a monastic building, the sill of which was found *in situ*. The inscription in Greek reads: 'Jesus Christ help Thy servant Demetrius and his community. Here is the gate of the Lord. May the Lord protect thy coming in and thy going out.'

Khirbat ed Deir is situated on the top of the hill above *'Ein el Ma'mudiya*. The excavations laid bare a building almost square (10.45 × 12.50 m.) with a narrow gateway on the south side, which was closed by a great disk of stone. The lintel (*in situ*) has a cross within

a circle with the letters Α Ω ΙϞ ΧϞ in the four quarters. The gate opens into a narrow court paved with white mosaics. The court extends the whole length of the building, two communicating chambers flanking it on either side.

The circular stone in front of the gate, 2 m. in diameter, 35 cm. thick, was found in position in a rock-cut groove hewn into the wall of a channel which led to a cistern opposite the gate. This kind of closure recurs in North African forts of Byzantine date; in Palestine and Syria it has so far been found only in tombs.

The three buildings, viz. the chapel (dedicated probably to St. John the Baptist), the monastery, and the protecting fort on top of the hill, may be assigned to the age of Justinian. A full account has been published in the *Revue biblique* (for Oct. 1946).

Tell el Far'a

(École biblique et archéologique française; directed by P. R. de Vaux, O.P.)

The first season of excavations on this extensive tell (11 km. north-north-east of Nablus) lasted from 1 June to 28 July and from 15 September to 14 October 1946. Its object was to establish the main periods of occupation on this site. With this aim in mind a deep cut was made at a spot selected in the northern part of the hill.

The oldest human settlement on this site belongs to the Middle Chalcolithic. The small area of the deep cut prevented the drawing-up of a complete plan of the dwellings of this period. Its existence is proved, however, by finds of flint and bone objects as well as by pottery fragments related to Beisan XVIII, Jericho VIII, and, finally, to Megiddo XX.

Buildings proper appear only at the next level. A child of tender age was found buried under a floor in half a jar. Flints were discovered in abundance, including blades of 'Canaanite' type. Apart from some shapes, which recall the Early Bronze, the pottery belongs to the Upper Chalcolithic of the Esdraelon Valley: grey burnished ware, designs of incised strips or finger marks, ledge handles, triangular or rounded with oblique cuts, 'hole-mouth' with rims stressed by a band in relief.

This level is followed by an important stratum of Early Bronze I. The houses here have stone walls, or walls built of brick and beaten earth on stone foundations. The principal rooms have floors of beaten earth, with a stone slab in the centre which served as base for a stake supporting the roof. The finds in these dwellings included, besides flints, some beads, one or two bronze fragments, and much pottery: big, handleless jars with the neck ending in a roll, hole-mouth jars with or without ledge handles, dishes, cups with round or carinated rims, which probably served as lamps. Many objects have a red slip; sherds of 'grain wash' (or 'band-slip') type were numerous. The nearest parallels are afforded by Beisan XV, Megiddo stages VII-VI; some of the shapes belong, however, to a slightly later period. The houses in this level were destroyed by a violent conflagration which has left a layer of ashes over the whole excavated area. Nevertheless, the site was occupied immediately afterwards, the new settlement spreading out more extensively. The pottery here resembles that of the preceding level, except that some shapes have disappeared and new shapes and techniques come in. The excavators assign this level to the end of Early Bronze I and the beginning of Early Bronze II. Next, the stratigraphy of the site shows a great gap (at least in the trial pit). There are no clear remains of the Early Bronze Age

and the beginning of the Middle Bronze. Settlement was renewed in the Middle Bronze II, but has left scanty remains of buildings and only a few objects. On the other hand, a burial of the eighteenth century B.C. was discovered in the corner of an Early Bronze building; elsewhere bones were found grouped below great jar fragments of the same period. These indications show that the Middle Bronze settlement occupied a smaller area than the Early Bronze one and that one should look for the main buildings of this period elsewhere, perhaps in the direction of the north-west corner.

The Late Bronze period included two levels, which it was rather difficult to distinguish everywhere, as there were but few specimens of those imported wares which normally assist in dating precisely the rest of the discoveries. The top two levels are of the Iron Age, the one seems to correspond throughout to Iron I, the other just below the present-day surface of the tell coming to an end some time after the beginning of Iron II. Everything goes to show that the site was abandoned not later than the ninth century B.C. The surface exploration of the remaining area of the tell supports this conclusion. Much later, towards the end of the Hellenistic period and in Roman and Byzantine times, a resettlement of some part of the tell seems to have taken place; but apparently the new settlers preferred a site on the slopes or among the gardens of the valley.

Kh. Karak

(Berl Kaznelson Memorial Excavation of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society)

There were two seasons on this tell; the first one (December 1944 to May 1945) was directed by Dr. B. Maisler and Dr. M. Stekelis; the second (December 1945 to July 1946) by Dr. M. Stekelis and M. Avi-Yonah.

Kh. Karak (ancient Bēth Yerah) is situated north of the outlet of the river Jordan from the Sea of Galilee. The whole area of the tell is 200 dunums (= 2,000 hectares). Surface exploration revealed remains of Early Bronze and Hellenistic-Roman occupation, with a gap between the two. This was fully confirmed by the excavation.

In the first season the excavators dug a trial trench 100 by 7 m. in the south part of the tell; the whole area excavated amounted in the end to 1,600 sq. m., with three deep cuts down to virgin soil. In the second season the southern trench was completed and another area excavated at the north end of the tell.

At the south the top layers contained traces of a (Roman?) camp, Hellenistic houses in two stages of development followed by a gap (Bēth Yerah V-VII).

Early fortifications were laid bare at the end of the trench and, by accidental erosion, in another spot slightly south of the trench. In all there were four earlier levels (Bēth Yerah I-IV).

Bēth-Yerah I, the earliest level, showed no evidence of house building, but only excavated pit dwellings, of about 4 m. in diam. In one place a fire-place was found and near it numerous potsherds and a heap of empty shells, evidence of some protohistoric repast. The pottery associated with this stratum dates it to the Upper Chalcolithic (grey and black burnished ware).

Bēth-Yerah II (Early Bronze I). Accumulation in this stratum reached a depth of 1.50 m. Here the earliest evidence of mud-brick construction occurred. The buildings

were of a very simple square type. With this was associated a city wall of mud brick, 8 m. thick. The settlers dug a fosse 2 m. deep in virgin soil and built their wall in three parts: an upright wall in the centre with sloping additions on both sides. The bricks used measure $10 \times 30 \times 40$ cm. and are laid in bonded courses; a layer of pebbles was laid over the inner slope of the wall. The characteristic pottery of this level is the 'grain-wash' or 'band-slip' type.

Bēth-Yerah III was a relatively short phase associated with Early Bronze II. Its characteristic constructions were built on foundations of basalt stones and beaten earth (0.20 m.) followed by another course of basalt; or a basalt foundation of one course and a brick wall with single stones inserted between the bricks. So far there is no evidence of fortifications in this stage. The characteristic pottery is stump-based jugs.

Bēth-Yerah IV (Early Bronze III) was the longest phase of occupation, its deposits reaching 2 m. in depth. Again there were basalt foundations, and a stone wall of basalt boulders, 4 m. thick and at present 2 m. high. A foundation trench 0.40 m. deep was dug for it in the accumulated debris of the preceding stage (Bēth-Yerah III), and a glacis of beaten earth was added to this wall. The typical Kh. Karak red-slip ware belongs to this period.

The tell was uninhabited till the Hellenistic period; the accumulation between the Early Bronze and Hellenistic levels is relatively shallow, such as may be expected from natural accumulation of soil. The Hellenistic level contained the remains of a street with several buildings along it, one of which was excavated completely. The Hellenistic remains included a tomb excavated in the glacis of the Bēth-Yerah IV stone wall.

The various levels so far described were separated by layers of water-worn gravel mixed with molluscan fauna and water-rolled potsherds. These layers of gravel are of varying thickness, 5-10 cm.; the thickest layer separates Bēth-Yerah IV from the Hellenistic period. It is suggested that these layers are evidence of repeated floodings, which in every instance put an end to a phase of settlement. The inhabitants returned, however, to the tell after every flood, until the longest and most persistent one, that is the one which followed Bēth-Yerah IV, finally drove them from the tell, which remained abandoned till the Hellenistic period.

Another pit cut down to virgin soil (at 5.20 m.) was dug in the northern part of the tell. The finding confirmed the succession of layers established in the south. The two lowest levels contained evidence of jar burials of infants, associated with Chalcolithic remains.

In the north the original trench measured 50×10 m. Owing to the importance of the finds it was soon enlarged and in the end the excavations extended over an area of 2,475 sq. m.

The principal find in this area was a building of Early Bronze III (= Bēth-Yerah IV). It is a rectangular construction measuring 40 m. from east to west and 30 m. from north to south. The whole forms a stone platform 10 m. wide, enclosing a series of courtyards and an inner hall (?). Its walls are built of from four to nine courses of basalt boulders, and are from 0.80 to 2 m. high. Stones formed the outer faces of the wall, the infilling was of earth. A series of circles, 7-9 m. in diameter, was sunk in the surface of the platform. Eight circles were found in whole or in part and there is room for a ninth. The

circles are paved inside just below the level of the platform, and each contains four spoke-like partitions about 2 m. long, advancing towards the centre of each circle, but not joining there. Each projection is formed by paving stones rising slightly above the surface of the pavement inside the circle.

The area enclosed by the wall was reached by a passage on the east side, 7 m. wide. A small partition separated this passage from a courtyard paved with pebbles. Four ovens made of baked clay were found in this area. A wall separates the court from another rectangular space with two stones laid in its centre (column bases?). A passage 2.50 m. long and 0.90 m. wide leads from this space to one of the circles. Other means of access to the circles from the interior include another passage and steps.

A street 2.50 m. wide runs on the south and west sides of the building. It is paved with stone. At the north-west corner of the building the street bends eastwards with five steps descending to a lower level.

The north-eastern part of the Early-Bronze building was buried under the remains of a thermal establishment of the ordinary Roman type. It consists of a square hall (*frigidarium*) once paved with marble slabs. Traces of the slabs remaining on the plaster indicate the plan of the original paving. In the centre of the hall was a round pool, 2 m. in diameter. Around it are foundations of four L-shaped hypocaust cellars with rows of brick pillars (*suspensurae*) 0.40 m. apart, and pipes sunk in the walls and in hollow bricks (*tubuli*) lining the walls to draw the heated air upwards. A furnace heaped with ash was found in the north-east corner of the cellar, and near it, on a higher level, an entrance passage. In the wall of the long arm of the L were two apsidal baths, the western with a brick-platform near by. The baths received their water-supply through a pipe enclosed in a stone and mortar channel which was laid over the Early Bronze building. There was evidence that the baths were remodelled at a later stage. A fragmentary bilingual inscription was found in the ruins; it is partly in Greek, partly in some as yet unidentified script.

Adjoining the baths on the north were the remains of a fort including two square towers, the intervening curtain wall, and a gate.

The sequence of later settlements in this part of the tell seems to be: A Hellenistic occupation followed by a Roman fort, then the baths in the Early Byzantine era, remodelled in the fifth or sixth century A.D., and finally a stage of Early Arab occupation.

The Citadel, Jerusalem

(Department of Antiquities)

Held over during the war, the concluding excavations were carried out in the autumn of 1946 with a view to ascertaining the date of the ancient 'Corner' tower, the middle of the three towers in the line of ancient Jewish fortifications discovered in the courtyard of the Citadel (see Vol. V, pp. 127-31; Vol. VI, p. 214; Vol. IX, pp. 207-9; and *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1940, pp. 36-56).

At the front of the tower a sounding against the remaining portion of the ancient masonry was deepened (at *E* on plan, Vol. V, Fig. 1 facing p. 127; Pl. III in *PEQ*). The foundations were found at 766.65 m., rock was reached at 762.8 m. or 2,504 feet above sea-level. Of the eleven surviving courses above the footings, six or seven had been

laid below the then ground-level at about 770 m. These buried courses embodied a few rough quarry-dressed stones among the well-drafted stones of boss-and-margin form typical of the tower, yet only one period of building was represented. It seems probable that this was nearly contemporary with the pre-Herodian curtain wall in its second phase or reconstructed form (*D-C* on plan), although the reconstruction of this wall actually followed the erection of the tower, as is shown by the junction of the two (Vol. V, Pl. LXXII, 3; for the phases in the curtain, see *PEQ*, 1940, pp. 10 ff.). From the deep deposits in front of the tower, the pottery was predominantly Hellenistic or late Jewish, and similar sherds occurred at foundation level and below, going practically down to the rock. Tentatively the tower may be dated to the early first century B.C. like the corresponding work in the adjacent curtain (*D-C*), but an earliest possible date should emerge more clearly when all the coins shall have been cleaned and identified.

The back of the tower consisted of a stoutly built wall of quite different style (Vol. V, Pl. LXIX; *PEQ*, 1940, Pls. VI, 1, and VIII, 1). Primitive in its appearance, it is clearly older than the tower because the masonry of the tower was simply applied to it, as may be seen at the north-east corner (*D* on plan), and in a new clearance towards the south-east corner (near *F* on plan) made with the object of exposing the part of the back wall which is built of unhewn boulders (*PEQ*, 1940, Pl. VIII, 1, at the right). Here a space was cleared in the heap of tumbled stones left by the medieval despoilers of the ancient tower, and at 767.25 m. the heavy blocking of infilling of the tower was found in position directly against the back wall. Four courses were penetrated before the pit became too narrow to go deeper into the blocking. Built of rows of roughly squared blocks generally 1.20 m. long by 60 cm. wide, laid head towards the wall, it corresponded closely to the facing of the tower in the kind of stone used, and in the height and level of the courses as compared with those exposed some distance to the north and west (at *D*, *E*). Apparently the whole base of the tower was solidly filled in this way, to a height of at least twelve courses, since similar packing still survives at the south-western part behind portions of the face and south side of the tower (Vol. V, Pl. LXIX, 2).

The primitive-looking part of the back wall (near *F*) was thus exposed to a depth of 765 m., probably not far short of rock bottom. As the secondary blocking in front goes still deeper, it seems unlikely that any deposits remain in front of the back wall that would serve to date it. In its upper two-thirds it batters evenly, but its lower third steps out and descends vertically like foundation work, standing at least 2 m. high above the rock. Elsewhere Hellenistic deposits have been found right down to rock, hence it seems unlikely that this structure can be older than that. Presumably it is of Maccabean construction like the lowest courses of the curtain wall adjacent to the north side of the tower (*PEQ*, 1940, Pl. VII, 2; period I on Fig. 1, Pl. IV, cf. pp. 10 ff.).

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¹ Continued from Vol. XII, p. 107.

WELLCOME MARSTON ARCHAEOLOGICAL
RESEARCH EXPEDITION

PUBLICATION of the excavations conducted by the late Mr. J. L. Starkey at Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), Palestine, between the years 1932 and 1938 is now being resumed.

In order to compile a full bibliography, the editor would be glad to know of all articles and other published references to the archaeological and linguistic material from the site, particularly those in foreign publications. Copies or extracts would be gratefully received wherever possible, or else a full reference and short summary of the contents. They should be sent to the Expedition, Institute of Archaeology, Inner Circle, Regent's Park, London, N.W. 1.

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